



A SOCIAL AND INDUSTRIAL  
HISTORY OF ENGLAND



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# A SOCIAL AND INDUSTRIAL HISTORY OF ENGLAND

BY

F. W. TICKNER, D.LIT., M.A., B.Sc.

*WITH ILLUSTRATIONS*

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F. W. TICKNER, D.LIT., M.A., B.SC.(ECON.)

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EDWARD ARNOLD

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1915

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## PREFACE.

THERE is no more gratifying proof of the increased interest now being taken in English history than the attention which is paid by students and teachers to its industrial and social aspects. I have tried to include within the pages of the present work such an outline of the nation's development along social and industrial lines as should, in my opinion, be read by all young students as part of their work in history, and I am not without hopes that it may also prove acceptable to the ever-increasing number of general readers who are interested in the subject.

It is impossible for me to acknowledge all the many sources of inspiration and information to which I am indebted. Any elaborate system of footnotes and references is obviously out of place in a book like this. The histories of Ashley, Cunningham, Gibbins, and Traill have been consulted ; the writings of Miss Bateson, Mrs. Green, Cutts, Gasquet, Jessopp, Jusserand, and Leach are

indispensable to all students of the life of the Middle Ages ; Anson, Graves, Pollard, Prothero, Saintsbury, Slater, and Mr. and Mrs. Webb have been referred to in connection with those special branches of the subject which they respectively have made their own. But as the period of reading and teaching on which the book is based has extended over many years, it is, I fear, impossible always to say to whom indebtedness is due.

F. W. T.

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# A SOCIAL AND INDUSTRIAL HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

## BOOK I.

### CHAPTER I.

#### THE ENGLAND OF LONG AGO.

THE present industrial and commercial supremacy of England is in large measure due to its position with respect to the other land masses of the world, and to certain physical characteristics of the country itself. Its position near the centre of the land hemisphere of the globe has made it a natural centre for trade to all parts of the world. Its situation wholly within the temperate zone and within the area of influence of warm Atlantic currents due to the westerly winds, gives it a mild and equable climate, free from all extremes of heat and cold. Around the coast are numerous serviceable harbours, many of which are estuaries affording communication with the interior by means of navigable streams, and the coast-line is so indented as to leave no

Causes of  
England's  
industrial  
and  
commercial  
supremacy.

part of the country very far from the sea. The highlands contain a great variety of useful mineral products, associated generally with the indispensable coal. Many parts of the lowlands are covered with a soil whose fertility, coupled with a regular and sufficient rainfall, makes agricultural operations successful and remunerative.

Its situation near the continent of Europe subjected it, at first, to a series of invasions which peopled it with the mixed race which now inhabits it ; but once its people had become sufficiently strong to be free from foreign aggression, its insular position enabled them to develop a distinctive national character, and to follow out their own methods and ideas of life with less danger of interference than if the country had been a portion of the mainland. At the same time, England was sufficiently near the continent to share in all those religious, political, and social movements which have affected its people ; and to take from both Teuton and Latin races whatever has been best in the experiences and ideals of each of them.

Two thousand years ago, however, Britain was a very different country from what it now is. At that time the great centres of European civilisation were associated with the Mediterranean Sea, and Britain, was upon the very margin of the world as it was known to European nations. The peoples of central and southern Europe, of western Asia, and of northern Africa were then the subjects of the all-powerful Roman Empire. Britain, after the year

## HISTORY OF ENGLAND

43 A.D., marked the western limit of the Roman power. It was one of the last portions to be added to their vast dominions, it was one of the first to be deserted by them in the period of their decay.

If we take a map of the world and cover up the whole of Europe north of parallel  $55^{\circ}$  N. lat., Asia

England  
and the  
mediaeval  
world. north of the line of the Himalayas,  
Africa south of the Sahara, and the  
whole of America and Australia, the  
remainder is practically a map of the

world as it was known to the Romans when they were at the height of their power. Britain was on the western margin of that world, midway between the frozen Arctic wastes to the north and the desert regions of the trade wind areas to the south, which marked the limits of Roman enterprise. Nor was this position of our country upon the outskirts of the world true only of British and early English times. Mediaeval map-makers pursued the same line of thought. A famous thirteenth-century map of the world, which is still preserved in Hereford Cathedral, makes Jerusalem the centre of the world and places the British Isles upon its margin. It was not until the discoveries of the sixteenth century that England began to occupy its central position. No wonder, then, that our forefathers looked always eastward towards Europe rather than westward towards the waste of ocean, and found their political and commercial interests bound up with the continent to which they belonged.

The country also was very different in general aspect from the England of to-day. Much of the

land was still covered with forests. The forests of Stainmore and Elmet clothed the eastern slopes of the Pennines ; Needwood, Sherwood, Charnwood,

Physical  
character-  
istics of  
early  
England.

Arden, and other forests covered the Midlands ; Epping and Hainault reached to the outskirts of London ; the Andredsweald filled the space between the North and South Downs ; the New Forest is all that remains of a large forest area in the south-west. In some places these forests were so dense as to be well-nigh impenetrable ; wolves, bears, wild boars, and wild cattle abounded, and beavers built in the streams. In other places were vast fens and marshes. The dense growths of under-wood and the fallen trees choked the rivers, and they overflowed and added to the marsh. The Wash and Fenland were both much larger than they are now ; there was much marshland around the Humber and the mouth of the Thames ; large marshes existed in the basin of the Parrett, and along the south-east coast from Romney to Southampton Water. The climate too left much to be desired. The great extent of forest made it more humid than it now is ; the fen and marsh added to the great amount of mist and fog ; and there was therefore less regular sunshine than we enjoy at present.

A succession of immigrant invaders did much to alter the face of the country. Step by step they proceeded along the rivers and over the uplands, clearing out spaces for their homesteads, and establishing trade and communication by means of tracks which were continually widening and improving,

so that the country, especially in the south-east, was soon cleared in many places and brought under cultivation. Of these successive invasions, four—the Roman, English, Danish, and Norman—covered a period of six hundred years, and had very important effects upon the future of the country.

It is easy to over-estimate the value of the Roman conquest of Britain. The occupation

The Roman occupation, 43-410 A.D. was mainly a military one, and large areas of the country, especially in the north and west, came but little into

contact with Roman influences. But under Roman control the country enjoyed such a period of peace and prosperity as it had never known before. Large areas were cleared and cultivated, additional domestic animals and certain kinds of fruit trees, including the cherry and the vine, were introduced, as well as some of our common forest trees. Agriculture was in a fairly flourishing condition, and the exports included corn, cattle, and hides. The mineral wealth of the country was also developed, splendid military roads made trading intercourse easier, peace favoured commerce, and commerce brought closer association with the Continent.

Yet little of this Roman civilisation had any lasting effect upon the country. The Teutonic tribes, Jutes, Angles, and Saxons, The English conquest and settlement, 449-577 A.D. who succeeded the Romans as conquerors in Britain, were an agricultural people unused to towns and town life.

It was the cultivated clearings—the cornfields, pastures, and orchards—which seemed to them so



valuable a prize. As they conquered each successive portion of the land, they settled upon it in little village homesteads as tillers of the soil ; the great cities they left neglected and deserted. Their invasion, moreover, was no military occupation, but a conquest and settlement which left the invaders the ruling race in the country. They came in war-bands under their different chiefs, and speedily formed a line of settlements from Southampton Water to the Firth of Forth, along the coast which faces Europe. Thence they moved inland, conquering, and settling, and then combining into a series of small kingdoms, which took many years to merge into one. The physical difficulties of the conquest only served to make the result more complete. The Britons were deprived of their lands, and the conquerors imposed upon them their own language, religion, government, legal code, and, in short, their whole social and economic system of life.

More than three centuries afterwards fresh Teutonic invaders followed, in the persons of the Danes or Northmen of Scandinavia. These came first as plunderers, then as settlers, and finally as conquerors of the English race. After much strenuous fighting, they were permitted to settle in the area north and east of Watling Street, and a later set of Danish invaders were helped by them to make the Danish kings the kings of England (1016-1042). The presence of the Danes in England proved of real advantage to the country. The English population lacked the industry and enterprise which the Northmen possessed. These latter had long been

Invasions of  
the Danes,  
797-1016  
A.D.

enterprising traders and daring explorers. They had colonised Iceland and had passed on to Greenland and the mainland of North America. They now developed English trade with northern Europe, restored something of the old maritime prowess of the English, and laid the foundations of some of our towns in the places they occupied as trading centres.

At the same time, they increased that tribal disunion which was one of the dangers of early English days, and so helped to make possible the Norman conquest at the beginning of the eleventh century.

The Norman  
conquest,  
1066-1071  
A.D.

This invasion again proved to be of great advantage to the country. The English had failed in power of organisation; their local rivalries and jealousies had prevented them from uniting into a strong and well-ordered nation with a centralised system of law and government. The Normans, on the other hand, were a people possessing to a marked degree these powers of organisation and government, and their love of law and order reacted favourably upon the country. It brought the people into subjection to a centralised government, and placed them under the control of a number of able officials who controlled the affairs of Church and State and showed the English the benefits of good administration. It also hastened the growth of feudalism in England, and recast English society upon a feudal basis. Under such a feudal system every person's political rights

and duties were determined by his position as a holder of land. Certain tenants-in-chief, who formed the feudal nobility, held land

Feudalism.

directly from the king or overlord on condition of rendering him military service and obedience, and of paying him certain recognised dues, while he gave them his protection in return. These tenants-in-chief let out portions of their land on similar terms to subordinate vassals, and so on in successive stages. When an heir succeeded he was expected to pay a *relief*, which often took the form of the first year's income of the estate; if a vassal died without heirs his land *escheated* to his overlord, that is, came back into the overlord's possession. By *wardship and marriage* the lord had the right of guardianship over the persons and estates of minors, and of choosing husbands or wives for them when they were of marriageable age. The three most generally recognised occasions for *aids* or payments to the lord were the ransoming of his person, the knighting of his eldest son, and the first marriage of his eldest daughter. The most dangerous feature of continental feudalism was that the allegiance of each tenant was to his immediate lord alone, he might wage war on behalf of that lord against the king himself without being guilty of treason. William I. avoided this danger in England by making tenants of all grades do Moot of personal homage and swear fealty to Salisbury, him at a great meeting on Salisbury 1086. Plain. He also lessened the danger of baronial rebellions by spreading the lands granted to a baron over various parts of the country.

This introduction of feudalism lowered the status of the English peasantry and brought them to a state of vassalage, which was more marked than

it had been under previous kings. But at the same time Norman control gave new vigour to the whole

Alien national system, strengthened the spirit  
immigrants. of enterprise which the Danes had introduced, and gave a great impetus to trade, not only by establishing that peace without which trade cannot flourish, but also by bringing the country still more closely into touch with the Continent, and with better methods of craftsmanship. From that day to this the English have ever been receptive of ideas and have ever welcomed immigrants who possessed them. Flemings, French Huguenots, Germans, Dutch, and people of other nationalities have all at different periods been welcomed to our shores and have been incorporated and assimilated into the mixed English race with great advantage to the nation as a whole.

## CHAPTER II.

### LIFE IN AN EARLY ENGLISH VILLAGE.

VILLAGE life in England from the eleventh to the thirteenth century was so different from the village life of to-day, that it is difficult to realise what it was really like. Any present-day visitor to an early English village would have been struck by the fact that the land was not then divided into fields by the hedges which are so characteristic and pleasant a feature of our own irregular English landscape. Such barriers as were necessary to keep the cattle from the ploughed lands would be temporary and artificial. The whole of the cattle of the village would be seen grazing together upon a large open pasture or common, and enclosed grass land would be rarely seen. All the village houses would be found clustered together along the village street as the labourers' houses often are to-day, but in those days there were no farmers' homesteads dotted about the cultivated land as there are now, for all grades of villagers then lived in these houses. Such great differences as these point to a system of agriculture very unlike our modern system. Let us see what methods were in vogue in England

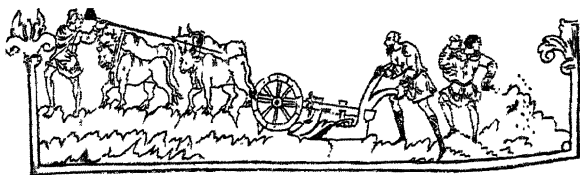
in these earlier centuries, and how they changed as time went on.

In these centuries England was divided into more than nine thousand divisions called manors, the majority of which were co-extensive with single villages. Each was in the possession of an overlord who might hold a number of them, especially after their redistribution by William I. to his Norman followers; and as each manor was a convenient unit for estimating feudal services, the lord of the manor became more and more a feudal overlord. The king himself, too, was a manorial lord and the possessor of a number of manors on which he had to depend for his food supplies, for in these days the king was expected to "live of his own." These manors varied considerably in size, value, and population. Some of the largest measured as many as 80 or 90 hides, a hide being about 120 acres; others were as small as 30 or 40 acres. But these are extreme cases, and it was more usual to find manors of from 4 to 10 hides.

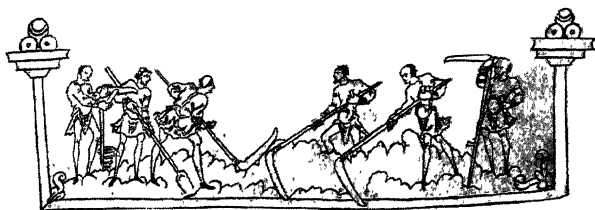
Each lord of a manor possessed certain rights over the rest of the villagers, who lived by cultivating the lands they held from him. Some of these holders, especially in the eastern counties, were freemen who were free to dispose of their lands under certain conditions and leave the manor if they thought fit. The majority of the villagers, however, held their lands from the overlord in servile tenure, that is, in return for their holdings they were expected to work upon his portion of the manor for a fixed

number of days per week (week-work), and for a number of days at periods, such as times of carting, ploughing, and harvesting, when extra agricultural labour was required (boon-work), they might have to make certain fixed payments in money or more often in corn, honey, eggs, or other produce ; they were not allowed to leave the village without their lord's consent, nor could they, without licence or fine, marry their daughters or get education for their sons. Many of these serfs held on an average about thirty acres of arable land ; these are generally termed *villeins*. Others held a cottage and from five to ten acres, these were the *cottars* and *bordars*. In addition, there might be in a manor one or more bondmen or slaves who were entirely dependent upon the will of their lord.

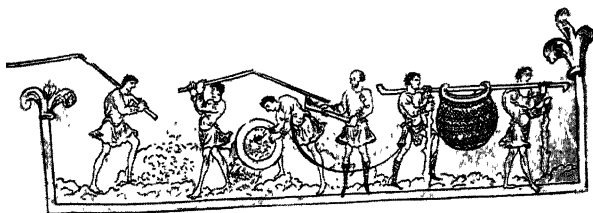
There was always plenty of woodland attached to each manor. This provided the inhabitants with wood for fuel and for building purposes, and for the manufacture of their rude agricultural implements, as well as with pasturage for their pigs. The remaining land was divided into three portions : common pasture and uncultivated waste, arable, and a small portion of meadow land. All the people of the manor, including the lord, had the right of grazing a certain limited amount of stock upon the common pasture and waste, and the meadow land was generally so divided as to give to each tenant the opportunity of getting some hay every year. The arable land was allotted to the villagers in strips which were usually a furlong in length, and two, or sometimes four,



Ploughing and sowing in January.



Hay-making in July.



Threshing with flails, winnowing, and carrying away the grain in December.

#### EARLY ENGLISH AGRICULTURE.

Scenes taken from an Early English Calendar which shows a typical occupation for each month of the year.





poles wide, the area of each strip thus being either half an acre or one acre. The strips belonging to any one villager were scattered widely over different parts of the manor so as to allot to each villager a portion of the good land and of the bad, and access to them was obtained by narrow, unploughed, grassy strips or balks along their length, and by broader balks or headlands at their ends.

The customary method of farming was a three-course rotation of rye or wheat, followed in the System of next year by oats or barley, while in farming. the next the land lay fallow. Roots, artificial grasses, and potatoes were unknown. Wheat or rye was the chief grain crop; beans, peas, flax, and hemp were also sometimes grown. The rye or wheat was sown in the autumn on the fallow portion. The early months of the year were occupied in clearing away the wheat stubble of the previous year's crop and in preparing the land for the barley or oat crop. After this barley had been sown, the fallow was cleared of the preceding year's barley stubble, and ploughed two or three times. Then followed the hay harvest from the meadow land, and the corn harvest from the cultivated strips. The fallow portion was then reploughed and wheat was sown. Threshing with a flail, thatching, and other work occupied the remaining months. As each portion of the meadow and arable was cleared of its crop, it was opened out into the common pasture, and the cattle roamed over it at will.

The ploughing was performed by means of oxen, and much of the work was of a co-operative

nature, for the villein rarely possessed more than two of the eight oxen generally considered

Methods necessary for a ploughing team. Each of work. manorial lord usually had his own plough and team of oxen, but his ploughing was done by the villeins, and sometimes they were called upon to provide the oxen and even the plough. This implement, with its large wheels and short handles, was very different from our modern plough. Harrowing was done with a hand implement little better than a large rake; the clods were broken down by means of a mattock. The corn was cut high in the stalk, the straw that was left might be cut later for thatching, or be ploughed under for manure after the cattle had used the fields. Ordinary open field land was worth an annual rent of about sixpence per acre (or twelve shillings of our money), its saleable value per acre was about five shillings. Three acres were weeded for a penny, reaping cost fourpence per acre. It took five men a day to reap and bind two acres.

The stock was one of the most profitable parts of the farming, though the loss from disease was very great. Oxen were in general

The stock. use for working purposes, horses were rarely used. Cows were kept for dairy purposes. With the oxen they made up a large number of cattle, and the pastures were consequently always more or less bare. The absence of roots and scarcity of hay made it impossible to keep all this stock through the winter, and at Michaelmas the excess cattle, now fairly well nourished by the

meadow aftermath and corn stubble, were killed and salted down for winter food. No attempt was made to fatten stock for food ; part of the preference for oxen over horses for draught purposes was that the oxen could ultimately be eaten. The meat obtained was consequently very poor, and the horn, hoof, and hide represented a large proportion of the value of an ox. Sheep were kept especially for the sake of their wool, but they were small in size, and their fleeces were very light. Winter and disease prevented much improvement in breeding. Pigs were kept in large numbers, and ran together in the woodland and waste during the greater part of the year, under the care of the village swineherd. Everybody kept fowls, and eggs and poultry were therefore cheap and plentiful.

It has been estimated that about five million acres were cultivated in this way. This is about  
Quantity of land under cultivation. five-twelfths of the land at present under cultivation. Nearly half of this was given up to wheat or rye, and a yield of one quarter per acre was considered satisfactory. About one-third of the land at any given time was fallow, partly because root crops were unknown, partly because of the absence of any regular system of manuring. The only attempts to improve the land or restore to it the material taken away by the crops were by spreading over it lime, or marl, a clay containing some salts of lime ; or by allowing the cattle to roam over the land after the crops had been garnered.

It is obvious that such a system left the holders

little scope for enterprise or originality. All were compelled to farm according to a common plan, since the strips were so greatly intermingled. Each man had to sow the same kinds of crops as his neighbours, and reap them by a given date ; and owing to the mixed ownership of the strips the clean worker might find his ground continually choked with weeds growing from seeds carried from the holding of a careless neighbour. His cattle, sheep, and pigs also ran with his neighbours', and one careless or incompetent farmer might spread disease and pestilence throughout the manor.

Work lasted from sunrise to sunset, and much field work was done by the women and children.

Weaknesses of the manorial system. There is still in existence a Latin dialogue written by a Saxon teacher who wished to provide his pupils with a large vocabulary of words representing things in common Saxon use. In this dialogue each boy is supposed to represent a worker in some trade or occupation and to answer questions about his craft. This is what the ploughman says : " I work very hard. I go out at dawn to drive the oxen to the field and yoke them to the plough. However hard the winter may be, I dare not stay at home for fear of my master. When I have yoked the oxen and made ploughshare and coulter fast to the plough, I have to plough a whole acre or more every day. I have a boy to drive the oxen with the goad, and he is hoarse with cold and shouting. I have also to fill the oxen's

mangers with hay and give them water, and take out their litter. It is very hard work, for I am not free." The shepherd says: "In the early morning I drive my sheep to their pasture, and watch over them with my dogs, whether it be hot or cold, lest the wolves devour them. I lead them back to their folds and milk them twice a day and move their folds. I also make cheese and butter, and I am true to my lord."

So the work went on from day to day, except when holy-days and festivals gave a welcome holiday. Each manor was self-sufficing; the villagers grew the corn and other produce for their own use, little of it went outside the village, and a failure of the crops might mean famine. As a rule each manor possessed sufficient craftsmen to supply its needs. These men received from the villagers a fixed amount of produce or labour yearly, irrespective of the work performed by them in any given year, and the swineherds and other common helpers were recompensed in similar fashion.

A portion of the land was enclosed for the exclusive use of the lord of the manor, who also had a share in the common lands. The manorial officials. The owner of a number of manors visited them in turn with his followers, and stayed at the manor house while the produce received from the villagers was consumed. Then he went to his next manor, and so on. This combination of manors under a single lord led to the development of a system of officials who managed

the various manors in the absence of the overlord. Of these officers the chief was the *seneschal* or *steward*, who was often responsible for the management of several manors. He acted as his lord's representative and adviser, and, as such, was expected to know in all its details the value of the manor, its stock, the work to be performed on it, and the duties of the other officials who were subordinated to him and into the performance of whose duties he had to make inquiries. Next in importance was the *bailiff*, who managed a single estate, saw that the work on it was done well and completely, collected the various dues, and managed the estate generally. Closely associated with him was the *reeve*, who was at first elected by the villeins from their own number, and checked their work, for which he was responsible. At first he was supposed to act in the interest of the villeins by whom he was chosen; as time went on his office became more like that of a bailiff, and he watched closely the interests of his master. Other servants included the *hayward*, who was responsible for the ploughing, haymaking, and harvesting; the *woodward*, *shepherd*, *oxherd*, and *swineherd*, whose duties are obvious.

This manorial system continued in England for several centuries. We must remember that in the twelfth century England was essentially, an agricultural country and therefore a country of villages. Of towns, in the modern sense of the term, there were very few; the majority of the places which were making progress towards town life

Twelfth  
century  
England  
essentially  
agricultural.

were still little more than overgrown villages, and farming was still the main occupation of the people in them. And even this farming was carried on for subsistence only, and not for markets or profits. There was little intercourse between different parts of the country, except along the main lines of communication such as the old Roman roads and the pilgrim routes. A much larger proportion of the cultivated land was arable than is the case to-day, and most of the people were engaged upon the land, for the small amount produced per acre, and the primitive methods employed, added considerably to the number of workers required. Very few persons were engaged in manufactures, and these were employed almost entirely in producing goods for local consumption.

The farmer as we know him to-day scarcely existed at this time. Nowadays the tenant farmer pays for his holding a rent which is based upon the value of his land in terms of its productivity, accessibility, and so forth; we may assume that land which commands a high rent is either specially fruitful, or is conveniently situated with respect to areas of dense population, or is near a good railway, or possesses some other advantage. Rent paid upon such a basis is generally spoken of as economic rent. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries, on the other hand, an occupier's payments depended upon the relation in which he stood towards his lord. A man who was free might be able to obtain good land for little service or payment; another,

Differences  
between  
manorial  
and  
modern  
farming  
systems.



whose obligations to his lord were greater, might be rendering greater service for poorer land. Nor were these occupiers tenants in our sense of the term ; they were all landowners, whose holdings descended to their children, though the holders could not leave the manor, nor could they dispose of their lands by sale.

Further, we have to remember that capital hardly entered as yet into agricultural operations. There was no investment of money in land, nor was land taken up from this point of view. The two great essentials at this time were land and labour : the lord exchanged land and protection for his serfs' labour ; the serfs gave to their overlord labour and produce in return for the land by and on which they lived, and the protection he afforded them ; and the lord's income depended upon the way in which his manor was stocked with men and cattle. Strictly speaking, the serf could not be dispossessed of his holding any more than the lord could be robbed of his land ; the undertaking was a mutual agreement with privileges and duties on both sides ; it enabled both to live, though it afforded but few opportunities for progress, and life dragged on in a daily round which was varied only by the change of season or the vagaries of climate and weather.

In spite of all this, however, important changes did take place. The eleventh and twelfth centuries were prosperous ones upon the whole. True, there were years of famine in which the village population suffered severely, for little provision was made for future needs, and whether the next year would

Changes  
in the  
manorial  
system.

## HISTORY OF ENGLAND

be a year of fasting or of feasting depended generally upon the harvest of the preceding year alone. Yet improvement is visible in the condition of villein and cottar alike. As early as Domesday Book there are instances recorded of men who were free from servile conditions and held their lands at a rent, and during these centuries the number of tenants of this class increases steadily. A lord of a manor, for instance, was sometimes willing to let a portion of his own share of the land for a fixed rental in money or in kind, for in this way he could count upon a certain income in each year which would be independent of harvests good or bad. In the towns the burgesses were finding their servile condition very troublesome ; in the midst of their own pressing labours they might be called upon to do boon-work or other service at the request of their lord. They were naturally very anxious to get rid of such services, and there were many lords of manors who were willing to commute or change them for money payments.

This system of commutation spread throughout the country. The cottars, whose small holdings  
Commuta-  
tion of  
services. left them ample time to work for others, developed into a class of labourers who were soon able to buy themselves free from serfdom and sell their services to others at a fixed wage. Such service was so much more valuable to the lord than the less willing servile work of villein or cottar, that, so long as he had a plentiful supply of it at his disposal, he was glad to allow his serfs to purchase freedom from their services and use the free labourers instead.

Hence throughout this period we find an increase in the number of free tenants and free labourers,

Degrees though the degree of freedom varies.  
of Some have managed to get complete  
freedom. freedom, others only partial freedom.

Boon-work has a tendency to remain longer than week-work. Some are compelled to give services or pay money according as their lord demands, and there are still many who hold land solely under servile conditions. In many cases there is freedom from services while tenants are still unable to leave the manor to which they belong ; a man may be paying in rent for his holding and yet remain a serf in social standing, another may be a free tenant with a holding requiring services as payment in whole or in part. But, generally speaking, this principle of commutation extended so widely that at the close of the thirteenth century it seemed as if servile tenure would come to an end in a fairly short time and be replaced by the newer system of wage-paid labourers.

### CHAPTER III.

#### EARLY ENGLISH HOMES : CASTLE, MANOR-HOUSE, AND HUT.

WE have seen how our forefathers worked in the fields, let us now go to one of their villages and visit their homes, the houses that cluster together along the single village street. Each of these houses is within its own toft or yard, fenced off from its neighbours by quickset hedge, or stone wall, or more commonly by wooden fence and ditch. In part of this enclosure is a garden in which the owner grows his onions, leeks, mustard, peas, beans, and cabbage ; and an orchard with apple, pear, cherry, and plum trees ; there are also a number of rude straw and rush beehives, for honey is practically the only sweetening substance available. The house itself is miserable enough and worthy only of the name of hut. It is a rectangular structure with high pitched roof thatched with reeds or straw, and the low, wide eaves reach to within a few feet of the ground. The walls are loosely built of wood or wattles (closely interlaced hazel boughs), overlaid with mud and plaster. Some of the poorest houses

have only a rough covering of turf and clay. Narrow openings in the walls serve as windows. These are without glass, and are provided with shutters, and a piece of coarse cloth stretched across them protects the interior from the weather.

The horses, cattle, pigs, and poultry are all under the same roof as the dwelling-house itself.

its In the best houses they are usually interior; separated from the dwelling-place by the threshing-floor, which is often the main entrance to the house; but in the smaller huts there is only the separation afforded by a line of hurdles. The house-place itself is a single room which serves as the living, dining, and sleeping room of all the family. A wood fire is burning on the hearthstone in the middle of the floor; the smoke passes up to the sooty rafters of the open timber roof, and through a hole in the middle of it which serves as chimney outlet. The rest of the floor is simply the earth which has been trodden hard with frequent feet, and may be covered with straw or rushes for the sake of the warmth they give. The houses are dirty and verminous, for the straw and rushes are not often changed, and the pigs and poultry run in and out when the door is open. At night the light is provided by the fire, or there may be a rushlight, candle placed upon a candlestick or in a lantern. But with the dark the peasants go to bed, and this consists simply in lying down upon a bench or upon the dirty straw and rushes which cover the floor.

## HISTORY OF ENGLAND

The room contains but little furniture. The seats are merely stones, or rough stools, or benches without backs ; the table is a board furniture. placed upon trestles and moved away when the meal is finished. Around the room are one or two rough chests or coffers which serve as receptacles for salt, meal, flour, and other articles of food and general use. There are various pans for cooking purposes, an iron tripod for hanging them over the fire, a kettle, some jars and other crocks of earthenware, drinking horns and wooden bowls and spoons for use at meal times. Other articles are a besom or broom made of a number of birch twigs bound together around a short pole which serves as handle, some baskets of woven willow and osier, the distaff and spindle for spinning, a simple loom for weaving, and various implements of husbandry.

Bacon, bread, butter, cheese, and vegetables, especially beans and peas, are the usual articles of food. The bread may be either white bread or *mixtil*, a dark coarse bread made of a mixture of wheat, barley, and rye flour. Bacon is the commonest kind of meat, and all through the winter the meat is salt. Very much of the food is boiled over the fire, and there is little variety. For drink there is water, milk, and buttermilk, cider from the apples, mead from the honey, or ale made from the barley malt, but without any hops.

The peasants' clothes are woven and made at home. The man has a tunic or smock frock of coarse linen, embroidered on the sleeves and breast,

and drawn in with girdle of rope, leather, or folded cloth around his waist, and possibly tightly fitting breeches reaching below the knee ; the woman has a tightly fitting under-garment with long loose sleeves and a loose short-sleeved gown above, which is also girdled at the waist. Many of the peasants go without shoes, and what shoes there are, are clumsy, hard, and patched. Most of the peasants, too, are bareheaded, though some are seen wearing a conical hood-like cap.

As the villager lived under such household conditions as we have described, it is not surprising that he spent as much time as possible in the open air. His days were passed in the fields, where also his wife and children often shared his work ; his summer evenings in the churchyard or other recognised place for the occasional bearward and performing bear, or for the minstrels and gleemen, who visited the village and told news of the outside world. But on working days labour occupied the hours of daylight, and sleep the hours of night. Relief from toil came with Sundays and holy-days, of which there were a considerable number ; it has been estimated that, besides Sundays, about eight weeks in every year were free from work.

Christmas and Easter were the most important holidays, and were times of much feasting and merry-making. The villagers, too, had their feasts or church-ales, when they met in the church house, a place specially built for parish meetings. On these occasions there were

cakes and ale, followed by various amusements. Sometimes parishioners provided the material of the feast in the shape of mutton, beef, and ale. On Plough Monday, the Monday on which work was resumed after the Christmas holiday, the men drew a plough round to the houses and collected money to spend on these church-ales, or on other amusements. The women's great day was at Hocktide, the second Tuesday after Easter, when they had the right of holding a rope across the roads and bridges, and demanding toll of all men who passed. The boys and girls looked forward to Childermas or Holy Innocents' Day, for then they chose a boy-bishop and attendants from among themselves, and went the round of the parish collecting for their feast. Sometimes the boy-bishop read in the church a sermon specially prepared for him. There were frequent children's parties at this time. May-day was another holiday, and there were also recognised merry-makings associated with the finishing of the different kinds of work, such as the end of ploughing, or hay-making, or the completion of the harvest. Some of these were the gift of the manorial lord, and were looked upon by the villagers as among their special rights.

The manor house was the most important dwelling-place in the village. It was situated within a much larger enclosure than the houses of the villagers, and near the manor house: it were church and mill. It was not always the home of the lord of the manor, however. He might possess a number of manors, and would



then reside at the most important of them and visit the others only at certain seasons of the year. Hence this particular manor might be in the occupation of his steward or bailiff.

The manor buildings generally occupied three sides of a rectangular enclosure, with garden, orchard, and possibly vineyard beyond. The hall stretched along one of the longer sides of the yard; the barn, granary, oven, and malthouse were at right angles to it at one end; the sheds, stables, and sheep pens at the other. Some of these barns were very large ones, especially those built in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The whole was enclosed by a stockaded embankment, with sometimes a moat in addition. The hall was the main portion of the building; we may judge of its importance from the fact that even to-

its hall; day we speak of the whole of a large country residence as the Hall. But in these early days the hall was the living and dining-room of all the household, and also the sleeping-room of all except the lord and his family. It was a rectangular building open right up to the high pitched and pinnacled roof, and was generally built of wood, though the lower part of the walls was sometimes of stone, and stone became more general as time went on. The roof was of thatch or of wood shingles, narrow over-lapping strips of wood nailed to the rafters. The windows were placed high in the walls, and were made too narrow to admit a man, though on the inside they were splayed, that is, widened out to admit more light. They could be strongly shuttered and

barred at need. The door, also, which opened outwards and was generally wide open during the daytime to show the hospitality of the owner, was thick and iron-bound or studded, and could be securely fastened when necessary.

From the twelfth century onward these halls were often so wide as to make it impossible to carry a single roof across them. They had therefore to be built with central nave and side aisles, the side aisles having lean-to roofs after the manner we now associate with a church. There is a splendid specimen of such a hall still in existence at Oakham Castle. It is 65 feet long and 43 feet wide, and the central portion of the roof is carried on stone arches supported by stone pillars. Smaller places with lean-to roofs were also built around the great hall, to serve as store-houses or for other purposes.

The part of the house reserved for the use of the lord and his family was at the end of the hall opposite the entrance. Here a slightly  
the solar, raised platform or dais stretched across the hall, and behind it was the *solar* or *sollere*. This was a private room which served as a retiring room, bedroom, and audience chamber. It contained chests for clothing, *perches* or wooden frames on which clothes could be hung, and box-like bedsteads, with overhanging canopies and rich coverings. Towards the close of the twelfth century the solar was built as an upper story, and the apartment below it, generally entered from outside the building, was used as a cellar and storehouse.

At the other end of the hall were the kitchen and rooms for the servants. These rooms increased the kitchen in number until they included the quarters; buttery, or storeroom for beer and wine; the sewery in which the table linen, provisions, and other table furniture were kept; the larder, where the meat was salted and stored; the pantry in which food was kept ready for use; and the laundry, the place for washing the linen. The cooking was done in the kitchen over an open fire placed in the centre of the room, though at first much cooking was performed in the open air, and finally large stone kitchens with big fireplaces in each corner were built. A large screen was fixed at this end of the hall to keep out the draught and to hide the kitchen quarters; two openings in it allowed of entrance to the hall, and it was roofed over to form a minstrel's gallery, for there was often music and other entertainment at meal times.

Near the centre of the hall was a large stone slab which served as fire hearth, and over it was <sup>inside</sup> a hole or a louvred opening in the roof the hall. through which the smoke escaped. The floor was strewn with rushes. Whitewash, colour-wash, and plaster were freely used both within and without the house, and tapestry and curtains were also employed to cover the walls on important occasions. These were often left hanging around the dais, and in the solar, where everything was of the best, and where a fireplace was provided at an early date. Steps led from the side of the dais to the solar, and the

wall between it and the hall was pierced by one or two small windows in order that the lord or his lady might see all that was happening in the hall.

The life of the manor house went on with but little variation. To dine in private was looked

Life  
in a  
manor  
house.

upon as unmannerly and boorish. All were therefore present at meals, which took place in the hall and consisted of breakfast at five or six o'clock, dinner at nine or ten, and supper at five or six. The lord and his family sat with the important guests upon the dais ; the retainers occupied seats according to their rank at tables placed lengthwise along the hall at right angles to the high tables. The seats on the dais were carved settles or chairs with cushions or other coverings, benches served for the retainers and inferior guests. As in the hut, the tables were movable, though in Chaucer's time the " dormant," or fixed, table was beginning to be introduced. There was generally a service in the chapel before breakfast. The important guests were provided with water for washing the

Food  
in the  
hall.

hands before the meal began ; a necessary precaution, for, though spoons were provided and sometimes knives, fingers had to serve as forks, and often each man had to use his own knife or dagger as well. There were many choice dishes, such as cranes, boars' heads, and peacocks, and various kinds of drinks, including mead, morat, or honey flavoured with the juice of mulberries, and pigment or piment, which was wine sweetened with honey and highly spiced. Some of the dishes were carved by the squires,

but the roasted joints were served on spits, and each man cut from the joint what he required. Plates were uncommon, and trenchers were used instead. These were large round pieces of coarse bread on which the meat could be cut, and, after the meat was eaten, the trenchers were placed in an alms-basket for the poor, or were thrown on the floor for the dogs to eat.

After breakfast the men went to their allotted tasks, while the women occupied themselves with Amusements. their household duties or attended to their pet dogs, falcons, parrots, or magpies. The boys played out of doors with tops or ninepins, or at various kinds of touch games and ball games ; the girls enjoyed dancing and hoodman-blind and other games. Hunting was very popular with both men and women, and good dogs and falcons were highly prized. Boys and men were trained in the use of the sword, bow, and other weapons, and shared in the wrestling, running, and boxing, which helped to make them strong and hardy. They also indulged in bull and bear baiting when opportunity served. The ladies spent part of the day in weaving, embroidery, and tapestry work, and were fond of listening to music and story telling. At night the hall was lighted by torches or candles, and the knights played chess, dice, and draughts. Story telling and singing helped to pass the time, or entertainment was provided by some wandering band of gleemen and jugglers who were passing that way ; and it became customary for the lord to possess a jester

whose rough jokes added to the mirth. At nine o'clock the lord retired to rest, and the servants and retainers slept together in the hall on the Benches or on rough straw mattresses. It was usual at this time to undress completely, wrap oneself in a sheet, and then lie down under a covering of rugs and coverlets ; the custom of sleeping in the hall in this way lasted until the time of the Tudors.

The dress of the nobility and gentry was elaborate and costly. The men wore richly embroidered

Dress. tunics fastened at the waist with girdle or belt. Their legs were covered with short breeches and tight-fitting hose, or with looser bandaging, bound to the legs by cross gartering. As time went on hose became the usual wear. Stockings of wool and cloth were common, as were boots and shoes, which fastened with one button over the outer ankle. Caps were also worn, and cloaks with hoods became popular, especially among the lower classes. When the weather was bad a cloak was worn which fastened over the right shoulder with a large brooch. Among the richest nobles these cloaks were lined with furs of the finest quality, and afforded opportunities for vain display. Women wore an under-gown with long tight sleeves, covered by a looser outer garment in which the sleeves were long and wide and often richly embroidered. This gown was fastened at the waist by a girdle, which might be jewelled or otherwise richly adorned. Before the Conquest married ladies wore a long piece of linen or silk, known as a head-rail, wrapped round the head and shoulders ; in the thirteenth century a gorget or

wimple (a silk or linen covering for the neck, chin, and sides of the face) was generally worn by married ladies, and then, as now, was a usual portion of a nun's attire.

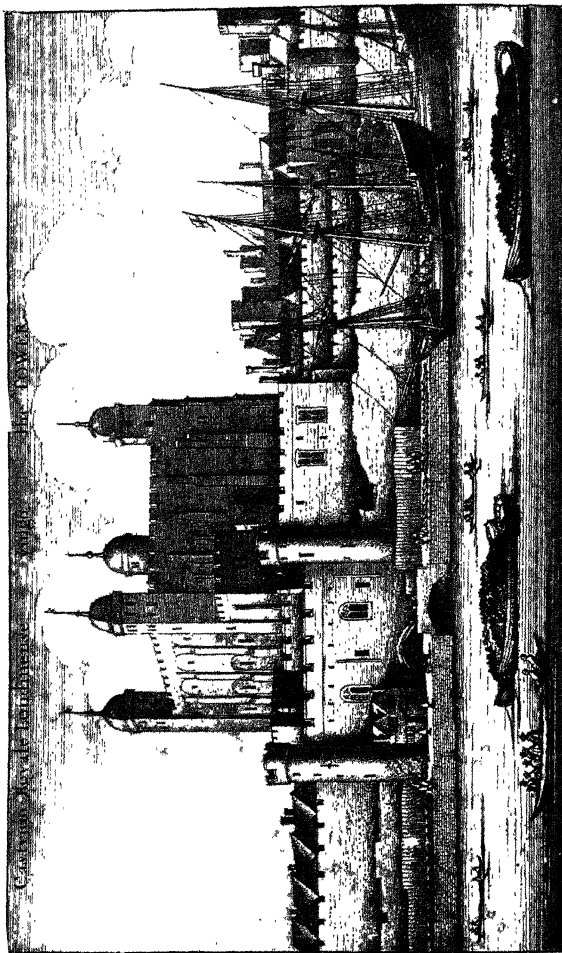
At certain periods the extravagance shown in dress called forth the indignation of both priest and satirist. The reigns of Edward II. and Richard II. especially furnish examples of this. Sumptuary laws, that is, laws regulating the quality, shape, and cost of the dresses to be worn by the various grades of society, were enacted, but were unable to stop this evil, and it spread to all classes. It showed itself in the use of costly materials, Italian silks, fine Flemish cloth, velvets and furs; in flowing gowns whose richly embroidered sleeves and skirts trailed the ground; in boots with long and pointed toes which were sometimes fastened to the knees by gold or silver chains, and, in the case of women, in elaborate and costly head-dresses.

It was in such dwellings and under such conditions as these that the English manorial lords preferred to live. They loved the open air and open spaces both in peace and war. The only castle mentioned in Domesday Book as existing in England before the Conquest is Arundel. After the Conquest, however, fortresses began to be built to hold the people in subjection.

At first these were only stockaded earthworks strengthened by ditch and moat, but they soon took the form of strong stone castles or keeps, such as the White Tower of the Tower of London. The first keeps were not solid rectangular struc-







THE TOWER OF LONDON.

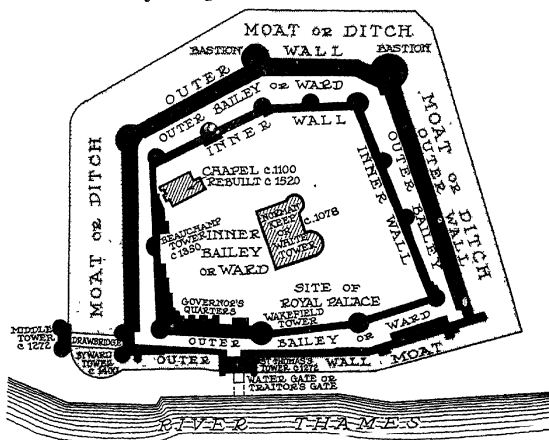
The large and prominent square building is the Norman Keep, generally spoken of as the White Tower.

(From an engraving by W. Hollar, circ. 1660.)

tures of this kind, however, but were shell-keeps, that is, areas surrounded by a strongly built wall, which took the shape of the hillside or rising ground selected as the site. Even then these keeps were only used in time of need. The barons looked upon them as strongholds and not as dwelling-houses, and remained in their manor houses in times of peace ; and they were encouraged in this by the fact that the Norman kings always looked upon the castles as royal strongholds to be garrisoned by themselves. It was only in lawless times, such as the reign of Stephen, that unlawful, or adulterine, castles were built by the nobles as centres of plunder and rapine, and these were speedily demolished or confiscated when peace was restored.

Some of these keeps were very strongly built, as, for example, the White Tower, and those at Norman castles. Norwich, Rochester, Rockingham, Newcastle-on-Tyne, and elsewhere. They were capable of holding the owner and his family with all their dependants. The entrance was placed one story high and was reached by stone steps. The basement, which served as storehouse and stables, and contained the well which every keep possessed, had no opening in its walls until later times, when a sally-port, or door from which a sortie could be made, was sometimes introduced. On the raised ground floor was a large hall corresponding to the hall of the manor, and generally also a chapel and a withdrawing room. Above were other rooms, and around the roof were overhanging platforms from which stones, boiling water, and lead, and flaming

torches could be thrown down upon the besiegers. The whole was very strongly built, the walls, from 8 to 15 feet in thickness, were broad enough to contain the passages of the buildings, and such a castle was quite impregnable against twelfth-century weapons as long as food held out.



A FORTRESS OF THE MIDDLE AGES.

(THE TOWER OF LONDON.)

(The dates give approximately the dates of building. The more modern buildings are omitted.)

With the conquests of Edward I. came the need of frontier fortresses to hold in check the partly Plantagenet conquered Welsh, and there was a change from these Norman strongholds to castles built upon concentric lines and providing permanent residences for their occupants, seeing that they were liable to surprise at any time. These new castles covered large areas

of ground with lofty battlemented walls having projecting bastions or small round towers at intervals, and were surrounded by a wide and deep moat. There was only one entrance, and this was protected across the moat by a barbican or tower. Behind this was the drawbridge. The gatehouse was guarded by flanking towers from which the drawbridge could be raised or lowered, and the entrance was further guarded by one or more portcullises, heavy gratings of wood and iron with spiked ends to the shafts. These could be dropped from their resting-places in the tower above the entrance, and so protect it even after the gate had been forced.

Inside the gate was the forecourt or outer bailey, an open space within the walls. Around it, wooden buildings, built against the walls, served as the homes of the retainers, or as stables and storehouses. It was necessary to pass a second barbican and gateway to enter the inner bailey, whose battlemented walls could still be defended after the outer bailey was lost. Within this inner courtyard was the castle dwelling, with its chapel, its long and lofty hall, and finally the donjon or keep, the massive stronghold to which the people retired when all else was lost. The remains of many such castles are to be seen in various parts of the country ; the mode of life in them was like that of the manor house. But even in the fourteenth century the manor house was still preferred to the castle by the English nobility, though there was a tendency for the manor houses to be crenellated, that is, built with battlements, and possibly a tower, after the fashion of the castle walls.

## CHAPTER IV.

### THE BEGINNINGS OF THE TOWNS.

So far, we have spoken only of agricultural and village life ; it is time now to turn our attention to the towns and their trade. The early English preferred to live in the open country ; they were mainly occupied in agriculture and had little need of towns. Even the towns of Roman Britain were left deserted by them. Yet the words *town* and *borough* are English words, though at first they had different meanings attached to them from what they now have. To our early forefathers a *tun* was simply an enclosed space such as that forming a villager's house and toft, or a manorial lord's hall and lands, or a number of such houses surrounded by an earth-work ; in fact, in some parts of England and Scotland people still speak of a farm and its out-buildings as a farm-town. The word *burh*, *burgh*, or *borough*, on the other hand, denoted that a place was fortified or protected, whether the place was noble's house, or village, or any other stronghold. Some of the most important of these *burhs* were the shire boroughs or county towns, which were

the great centres of defence in the various shires. These were generally under the control of the king, and were not necessarily manors.

The earliest *tun* or township was just such a little cluster of farmhouses as the ones we have spoken of in a preceding chapter, Growth  
and  
development  
of towns. surrounded by a mound of earth having a palisade or hedge on the top, and possibly a ditch or moat around it on the outer side. The continual strife, and the insecurity of earlier times, made it advisable for the villagers to live together so that they could the better defend their homes ; much of their agricultural work too was done co-operatively, and it was well for the common helpers to live near one another. Many of these early townships have always remained villages or hamlets ; others have grown into the larger centres of population which we speak of as towns to-day. Their growth, however, was very slow at first ; Domesday Book tells us of the existence of about eighty towns. But with one or two exceptions, such as London and Norwich, these were places which we should look upon as overgrown villages, and most of the people living in them were engaged in open-field agriculture. Of course there were craftsmen who were engaged in making articles of iron, wood, etc., for the use of their fellow-townsmen, but these craftsmen did not display their articles in shops ; the goods were produced as they were ordered, and each man knew within a little how many orders he could reasonably expect in a year, and from whom those orders were likely to come.

Nor must we use the word "growth" in such a way as to suggest that these places developed into towns simply by becoming bigger than neighbouring villages. Special Acts were necessary in order to make them into towns, as we shall see. Nor did these towns all develop from the same reason. One important cause undoubtedly was that of trade. Even when each community was practically self-sufficing, many of them must have depended upon the outside world for a few useful articles such as iron and salt. When nearly all the winter's meat supply had to be salted down at Michaelmas, salt was a very important article, and a trade in it must have commenced at a very early date. Now some places were better situated for trade than others. Villages that could be reached easily, or that were situated at cross roads or along the banks of navigable streams, soon became market centres, the earliest articles exposed for sale being agricultural produce. The same is true of foreign trade. London's situation as the centre of a corn-growing district near the head of the tidal waters of the Thames, and far enough inland to be reasonably free from the attacks of pirates, early ensured its importance. This was also the case with other places such as Bristol, Norwich, and Chester. Favourable spots for crossing rivers also became places of importance; the names of many English towns contain the suffix "ford." Sometimes a town sprang up near an older Roman town, for the material contained in the ruins was useful for building

purposes ; much of the cathedral at St. Albans is built of old Roman bricks from Verulamium. St. Albans too shows us that the relics of some famous saint might cause a town to develop around the monastery or cathedral which contained them ; other towns might spring up along the route taken by the pilgrims who visited the saint's shrine. The castle of some famous and powerful noble might also cause people to collect beneath its walls, as at Dudley, Ludlow, and Norwich.

The Danes and Northmen helped in the development of the trading towns. They were noted as traders wherever they went, and Chester especially benefited by its trade with their settlements in Ireland and the Isle of Man. Foreigners also shared in England's trade ; London always contained a number of people of various nationalities, so much so that it was not at first the capital of England. There were Normans and Flemings in London before the accession of William I. ; when the Normans ruled England large numbers of continental artisans came and taught the English many useful arts.

But wherever trade developed in the townships it was subject to the control of the lord of the manor, and he desired his share of the prosperity that came from it. Hence the townsmen were subjected to many regulations and exactions. They might have to pay *passage*, a payment on goods passing through a manor ; or *stallage*, a payment for setting up a stall or booth in the market ; or *pontage*, a payment to be made for

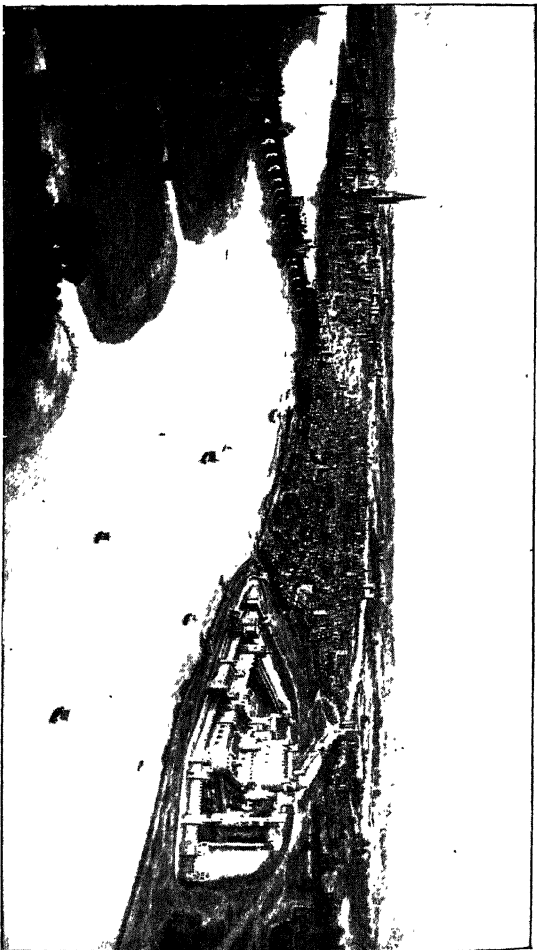
Foreigners  
and  
English  
towns.

The  
townsmen  
bought  
freedom  
of trade.



taking goods across a bridge; and so on. In addition, they were still bound to perform the usual services of week-work and boon-work in return for their holdings; and there were other troublesome feudal services and dues which prevented them from pursuing their industry successfully. As long as they were serfs they were at the mercy of their lord and his officers and his courts. There were also royal charges to be met, for the king claimed certain fines and taxes for national purposes, and his officers must be bribed and cajoled or the township might suffer severely. In many cases the king was also the lord of the manor, and then *all* the dues had to be paid to him or to his representative the sheriff. These royal charges were often the most troublesome ones, for the sheriffs were guilty of extortionate overcharges as well as of keeping back the money paid to them for repairing roads and bridges. It was therefore a great gain to the townsmen if they could obtain the privilege of collecting the dues themselves and becoming collectively responsible for their payment. They were commuting their labour services for money payment wherever they could do so, and in the same way they began to buy from king or manorial lord exemptions from the dues levied upon them.

It was fortunate for England's future that very many important towns were on the royal estates, Rights and  
privileges  
of citizens. for, generally speaking, it was easier to gain this right from the king than from other manorial holders. The king was not a resident, and his association with



A MEDIEVAL TOWN. A REPRESENTATION OF LONDON ABOUT 1400 A.D. [If the Great Hall, the town is walled and surrounded by a moat. The position of the gates is clearly marked. No part of the town is far from the open country. Old St. Paul's marks almost the westerly limit of medieval London, and the Tower is an important fortress on the eastern, seaward, side.]

(from a picture in the London Museum, by permission of the Keeper of the Museum.)



the manor was therefore less close and strict. In the time of the Crusades, when lords of manors required ready money to equip forces for the war, many towns gained their freedom ; the craze for dress and fine living helped in the same direction. The grant of freedom took the form of a charter obtained either by an immediate money payment which freed them once and for all ; or by an immediate payment or fine followed by additional annual payments. The possession of a charter added greatly to the dignity of a township. It was now a town which managed its own affairs and possessed very definite rights and privileges ; it had become a *liber burgus*, or free town. The whole body of the citizens was now responsible for its good government, and for the dues which had to be paid. Hence the township was a *corporate town*. Those who owned houses and land, and were therefore in a position to pay their share in the dues to be collected, were burghers or freemen of the town. At first there was a tendency to admit burgesses freely. Wealthy traders and craftsmen, aliens and freedmen, were enfranchised in public meeting, on paying the necessary fees and naming townsmen who were willing to act as securities for them. And the privileges to which they were admitted were no small ones. They gained the right to trade on very favourable terms as compared with the outsider, terms which only citizens could obtain, and such rights as these were eagerly sought for. On the other hand, there were duties to perform which were not always pleasant ones ; they had to share in the

protection of their town ; to take their turn as watchmen in keeping the peace ; to serve on the juries and attend the courts ; even to act as tax collectors if called upon to do so, and be responsible for the money to be collected.

These early towns would, of course, appear very small as compared with our modern factory towns.

Size of the early towns.	Most of the inhabitants were holders of land on the common fields around the town, and sent out their cattle and pigs daily to the common pastures. London with something like 25,000 inhabitants was quite an exceptional town, and correspondingly important in the government of England. York and Bristol may have had about 10,000 inhabitants, but the ordinary town was a small one with a population of only some 2000 to 4000 people.
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Methods of town government.	With independence, however, whether partial or complete, some scheme of local government was obviously necessary. In the earliest days the townsmen had attended to local business at their town meetings or borough-moots, which met two or three times a year. Many had also been accustomed to the control of the king's sheriff or the steward of a manorial lord, and wherever there was a market, a king's officer, the port-reeve, had looked after the interests of the king. Now that the towns were free they established their own systems of local government ; and made their own by-laws or town laws for the good government of their borough, for the control of its trade, the administration of its property, its defence against enemies, and the
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## HISTORY OF ENGLAND

pleadings in its courts of justice. When a new town required a constitution it generally copied the regulations of some existing corporate town ; thus many towns, including Oxford and Winchester, modelled themselves on London, others upon Oxford or Winchester ; London probably owed its system of government to the example of Rouen, which had in turn copied from elsewhere.

During the twelfth century these independent boroughs were freely established. The great increase in the trade in wool gave English towns or communes fresh life and additional importance to many of them, and in the thirteenth century we find that many English towns have become *communes*, or self-governing corporations under the direction of a mayor, portreeve, or other chief officer. He is aided by a number of aldermen, and to these are added at a later date a number of common councillors. The chief officer presides at the meetings of the burgesses and in the local courts ; he is also the representative and spokesman of the town on all important occasions. The aldermen are his assistants, and, where the town is divided into wards for its better defence and government, each alderman becomes responsible for the control of his particular ward.

When freedom had been thus obtained, the burgesses were very anxious to prevent outsiders from sharing in the privileges for which they themselves were paying. Now one great idea of the Middle Ages is the idea of corporate responsibility, of combining together to get what is wanted or to

Exclusive  
policy  
of the  
towns.

keep to oneself that which is already obtained. Such combinations had always been popular with the English. The old English had had their religious gilds or associations in which they had united for charitable purposes, collecting fees which were spent in helping members in times of sickness or other need, or in paying burial fees and ensuring the performance of masses for the dead. Such gilds had also their social

The gilds. side, and members could meet together for feasting and social life generally. These non-industrial gilds remained throughout the Middle Ages. In addition there were Frith-gilds, or guilds for the maintenance of peace (Old English, *frið*, peace), whose members became collectively responsible for the good conduct of all the gildsmen, and paid fees which were used to help members in legal troubles.

In similar fashion we find the traders and craftsmen of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries

The Gild Merchant. combining into gilds for the protection of their special interests. Before the end of the eleventh century the gild merchant, which had for its object the protection of the trading interests of the townspeople, had become a feature of English town life. Throughout the twelfth century the charters of the towns granted to the burgesses their right to such gilds merchant, in the interests of their trade. These gilds controlled all the buying and selling within the town, except the trade in food, which was left free of tolls and charges. Their president and his wardens and council watched carefully over all

the town trade in the interests of the gild members. They prevented illegal transactions such as *fore-stalling*, that is, buying goods on the way to market in order to get them more cheaply; *re-grating*, buying up all the goods in the market, to sell them again at a higher price; and *en-grossing*, or holding back goods for a rise in prices. They watched over the transactions of foreigners or men from other boroughs, and aliens or traders from other countries. These could only trade between certain hours of the day and must first obtain the necessary licence and pay the tolls demanded. They also entered into treaties with the gilds merchant of other towns, granting to their members privileges of trade in return for privileges received; and they looked after the recovery of debts and safeguarded the interests of their members when they were trading in other towns.

Nor did they forget that, however exclusive they might be in dealing with outsiders, they were themselves a brotherhood. Social life was not neglected. Meetings were preceded or followed by feasting and drinking. Any member who made a good bargain at the expense of the outsider was expected to share it with all the other members. Money was paid from the gild chest to help the sick and needy. Any member who had met with losses from illness or fire or other mischance would receive a grant of money to start him again. Fines were inflicted for breaches of regulations, and in the last resort an unworthy member was expelled. It was one of the most honourable ambitions of the



citizen to obtain a position of importance in his gild and among his fellow-citizens.

Gilds possessed of powers such as these naturally became very important organisations, for they were strong enough to compel any one they wished to enter their fraternity or be ruined in his trade. At last gildsmen and burgesses became for the most part identical, and the officers of the gild were in many cases the officers of the corporation. Hence there was a tendency for the two bodies to become closely associated, gild rule and corporate rule were not always distinguishable, the gild-hall might become the town-hall, and town business be transacted there. If an overlord still retained much of his authority, as was sometimes the case in towns under ecclesiastical control, the gild was often the only organisation which could do battle on behalf of the townsmen's liberties, and so it gained considerably in importance in such townships.

The primary object of the gild merchant was the protection of the trading interests of its members ;

The and the term merchant included every Craft Gild. one who traded, both great and small. Craftsmen were freely admitted to the gild, for the craftsmen also were traders or merchants who bought the raw material of their particular industry and sold the finished product in their shops or stalls. The only craftsmen who were likely to be excluded were the bodies of alien immigrants settled in some of the towns under the direct protection of the Crown for the development of certain industries. As industries developed and became more and

more specialised, the craftsmen working in a particular industry began to form guilds of their own. We first hear of these craft guilds in the twelfth century, the oldest are guilds of weavers. It may be that the earliest of them were formed by the companies of aliens, especially Flemings, who settled in England during the eleventh and twelfth centuries and developed our woollen industry. These aliens were under the king's special protection wherever they lived, and could easily get a charter of gild incorporation from him. It is characteristic of the earliest craft guilds that they were not part of the administrative machinery of the town as the gild merchant were, but associations with charters often granted only for a limited period, and depending upon the payment of a yearly sum of money to the Crown.

It has been suggested that the origin of the craft guilds is to be found in the exclusion of craftsmen from the gild merchant by the more prosperous merchants. But though this is true of some of the cities of the Continent, there seems no evidence to show that it is true of England. There was no rivalry of necessity between these two types of gild. The merchant gild looked after the general trade monopoly of the town; the craft gild attended to the interests of the workers in a special industry. In many cases the craft guilds came into existence as branches of the merchant gild, in some cases they ultimately replaced the gild merchant by a general gild in which all the craft

Difference  
between  
Merchant  
and  
Craft Gild.

fraternities were represented. They developed rapidly in England, and by the fourteenth century were doing much of the work done formerly by the gild merchant. All had to be chartered gilds, for adulterine, or unchartered, gilds might be suppressed at any time. Some got their charters from the king, others from the civic authority.

Each gild confined its membership to the one group of craftsmen it represented, whether weavers,

The work of the Craft Gilds. cordwainers, skimmers, glovers, or workers in some other craft. Membership was open at first to all who could do good work, members of the gild bearing testimony to their ability. In time all new members were expected to have served an apprenticeship to the craft before admission. The interests of all the members, whether members, journeymen, or apprentices, were watched over, strict regulations governed their work, the hours of labour were fixed, the quality of the material and of the finished product was "overlooked"; a fair price for the completed article was fixed; wardens were appointed to see that all the regulations were properly carried out. Nor were the gilds only interested in craftsmanship and craft products. Here also the idea of brotherhood was a living one, there was money for the old and the sick, there were pensions for the widows, and funeral expenses for those who died poor. Those who fell on evil days were helped to a fresh start, and if a man fell ill in the middle of his task he could rely upon his brother gildsmen finishing his work so that he

should not lose the profit of what he had already done. Gild meetings also helped to cultivate social life and good fellowship. But we shall see something more of the working of these gilds in succeeding chapters.

## CHAPTER V.

### A MEDIÆVAL TOWN AT WORK.

LET us pay a visit in fancy to some English town of the fourteenth century, that we may see the townspeople at their daily work. We approach the town through the meadows and cornfields which belong to the A fourteenth-century town: burgesses and are being farmed on the open-field system. The cowherd and swineherd have already collected the cattle and pigs of the townsmen and have driven them out into the fields for the day, and some of the men and women are at work upon their pieces of land, for town life is not yet divorced from agriculture. The distant town presents a pleasing picture as we ride towards it. The plastered houses have been whitewashed, and there is little smoke to blacken them, so that all gleams white in the sunlight, and the high pitched roofs and gables of the houses, and the church towers and spires form an inviting spectacle. No wonder that Londoners in 1306 tried to prevent the use of coal because of the nuisance of its dirt and smell.

As we get nearer we see that the town is walled, and it is well for us that it is daytime, for at

sunset the gates are shut and are then kept closed until sunrise. There are no lanterns to light the streets, the curfew rings at eight or nine o'clock, and after that no one should be out of doors ; the ale-houses are closed and the townspeople go to bed. Other people besides ourselves are moving towards the town gate, for it is market day. There are merchants with goods upon pack-horses and pedlars with their packs upon their backs ; country people are bringing their cows, pigs, sheep, and lambs for sale, the country women are carrying baskets of eggs and butter on their heads. All these will have to pay toll at the gate before they are allowed to take their goods inside the town.

But now we have crossed the drawbridge over the moat or ditch, have passed the strong gate with its streets its overhanging portcullis, and have been admitted to the town. We are in no hurry to reach the market, so may look around. The streets are narrow and very dirty. They seem to be the usual place in which to throw all kinds of rubbish from house and shop. Here the butcher's waste has been thrown out ; there a carpenter has been at work in the streets and has left his rubbish behind him. Dogs run about and play the part of scavengers ; pigs, too, are allowed to wander at large and feed upon the garbage ; indeed, they became so great a nuisance in London that men were appointed in 1292 to kill all found loose in the streets, except the pigs of St. Anthony's Hospital, for these were still exempted for the sake of charity.

The roads are in a very bad state, though there are rates and tolls to provide the means of repair,

and the burgesses are sometimes called out to help in mending them. There are no pavements for the foot passengers, and only the most important streets are paved with large stones. The road slopes both ways to an open gutter or kennel along the middle, or there may be such a gutter on each side. Down these the dirt is carried, and a heavy shower of rain is a great boon, for it washes away the dirt to the town ditch. Hence it is not surprising that plague is frequent in dry seasons. Luckily there are still plenty of gardens and other open spaces within the town, and no part of it is far away from the open country, or serious plague might readily result.

The houses vary considerably in size. In the narrow back lanes are huts of wood and plaster or mud, thatched with reeds or straw. <sup>and houses.</sup> They are the homes of the poorest people, who live in misery, squalor, and disease. These houses are generally of one story only, though some have a solar approached by an outside stair. Wherever there are upper rooms these project over the lower ones, and the roofs are always high pitched. The lower and upper rooms are often separate tenements. Glass is still very rare and the windows are shuttered. As we move along we pass the houses of the craftsmen whom we can see busy at their work. Men of the same craft live together in the same street. This is very helpful to the wardens of the craft guilds, for their supervision is rendered easier and more effective. Here is Bowyer's Row, there is Candlewick Street, farther on are Tanner's Lane

and Glover Street. The houses here are built with the gable end toward the street, and so have but a narrow frontage. The ground-floor is often raised a foot or two above the level of the street, and is approached by stone steps running along

the wall. Here the craftsman and his  
A craftsman's journeymen and apprentices are at  
home. work, and round the room are some of  
the finished or partly finished products of their  
craft. The large window shutter has been let  
down and forms a counter on which some of the  
goods are exposed for sale. But much of the work  
is done to order, and the customer in many cases  
supplies his own material. Thus there is no great  
quantity of goods on show, though the craftsman  
may have some completed work by him, which he  
is intending to take to market or fair to be sold.  
Under his shop is a large cellar, to which access  
is obtained from the street. It serves him as a  
very convenient storehouse for the materials of  
his trade. His large living room is either at the  
back of his shop or else above it ; the apprentices  
and journeymen may not only work in the shop  
but may have to sleep in it too. At the back of  
the house is his garden, and the well which provides  
water for the family. There is no public water  
supply, and we may meet with water-sellers calling  
out their ware before we leave the town.

Notice how large a part the hand plays in the  
work that is done. There are few machines.

Craftsmen This work is really handicraft, and the  
at work. craftsman is evidently proud of it and  
greatly interested in it, for he directs our attention



Some of the houses are imposing mansions with extended frontage and large halls, but there are not many of these in a single town. The Famous merchants at home. next century will see much rebuilding and enlarging in this direction. These largest houses are the homes of the most important merchants, such as Sir Richard Whittington, mercer of London ; or the De la Poles of Hull ; or Henry Picard, vintner, Lord Mayor of London in 1357, and the entertainer in 1363 of the kings of England France, Scotland, and Cyprus at a feast held in his house. Such merchants have among their apprentices the younger sons of good county families who are seeking a fortune in trade. Men like these are beginning to be traders on a large and important scale, merchant princes who will rise to positions of great importance in the government of the town and the nation, and will ultimately join the ranks of the nobility and country gentry.

In the best of the houses the party walls are built of stone to the height of 16 feet, and only The danger of fire. the upper story is of wood. This better building is useful against fire, one of the greatest dangers of the mediæval town. In London special precautions are taken against fire. The citizens are encouraged to use stone ; baking and brewing at night are carefully regulated ; a tubful of water is kept before each house ; and in every ward the alderman is provided with a proper hook and cord for pulling down the houses on fire.

Let us now join the people who are hastening to the market-place. Notice how they are dressed.

We cannot fail to see the clergy, friars, and monks moving amid the throng. We may chance to see

Dress of the an alderman in red robe lined with fur, townspeople. his silver girdle holding inkhorn, purse, and rosary, or some craftsmen going to a meeting of their fraternity in their gild livery, of which both they and their wives are very proud. The silver ornaments on their knives, girdles, and pouches show that these are no common workers. The townspeople generally have long gowns of various colours, girdled at the waist, and all carry a dagger or a sword. The commonest head covering is a hood, but some of the merchants have large Flemish beaver hats. Their costume includes a long tunic embroidered at the edges, and having flowing sleeves. Their boots are good and neat and made of best Cordovan leather, and over all is a long flowing cloak opening to the right to leave the right arm free, for brawls are only too frequent and one walks prepared. Poorer men have short tunics and long hose, and their heads are capped or hooded. The colours of all these garments are brighter and gayer than men wear nowadays.

The women often have long trailing dresses with flowing sleeves, especially those whose husbands are becoming of importance in the town. Poorer women are content with gowns reaching to their feet and shorter tunics over them. The long plaits of hair and the wimple are passing away before more fantastic hair dressing and kerchiefs and gold lace : Chaucer's Wife of Bath had finely woven kerchiefs under a hat as broad as a shield.

The market-place is a large open space close by

the parish church. Many of the earliest markets and fairs were held in the churchyards until an Act of Parliament of the reign of Edward I. prevented it. The large market cross marks the place, and some of the butter-women are seated around the base of the cross with their baskets opened on the ground before them. The weekly market is of great importance to the town. Already it is displacing the annual fair, for it is much more convenient to be able to buy goods weekly than only once a year. These markets were originally the king's property, though he generally granted the rights to some lord of the manor, or abbey, or to the town inhabitants themselves. Whoever possesses the rights obtains a considerable sum of money weekly by way of market tolls. We can see the collectors of the tolls moving among the stalls, and near the centre of the market is the toll-booth, where the chief officer sits.

Some of the merchants have booths or wooden sheds in which to display their wares, others have stalls; others, again, have spread their goods upon the ground. But all have to pay a toll for their stand; though the members of the gild merchant will get their stand free of toll if the town is the owner of the market rights. All sellers of the same kinds of goods collect together in one part of the market. In London the great market or Chepe occupied the open space to the east of St. Paul's Churchyard, along both sides of the modern Cheapside; and the names of the streets branching from this highway, Bread Street,

Milk Street, Honey Lane, Wood Street, Ironmonger Lane, Old Change, and so on, still remind us of the lines of booths and stalls.

Another important feature of the market is the public weighing machine. This machine, which is probably in the form of a weighing beam or steelyard, may even be affixed to the wall of the church. It is the standard weight of the town, and whatever weights the townspeople use, whether metal weights or large stones, must agree with it, as must their measures with the official yard measure and bushel kept with it. It is one of the duties of the mayor to see that the weights and measures used in the town are regularly tested and adjusted.

The mayor too had important duties connected with the sale of food. The price of victuals was regulated by Acts of Parliament, and the mayor had to see that these Acts were enforced. Assizes<sup>1</sup> of Bread and Ale attempted to fix a scale of prices at which these commodities should be sold and the quality at which they should be supplied. The price of bread was to vary with the price of wheat, of ale with the price of barley and malt. When corn was dearer the farthing loaf weighed less than when corn was cheaper, the change being made in the weight of the loaf and not in its price. Any attempts at adulteration or the production of

<sup>1</sup> Assize (from Old French, *assise*, the act of sitting) means (1) a sitting; (2) a thing settled, an assessment, the decree or edict made at a sitting. Hence its use here as equivalent practically to statute.

inferior quality were heavily punished. A baker who gave short weight was drawn through the streets on a hurdle with his loaves tied round his neck. The seller of bad ale or wine might be compelled to drink a part of it, and the remainder was then poured over him. Many of the alehouses were merely basement cellars and their keepers generally women. Each ale-wife brewed her own ale. The official ale-taster or ale-conner came to test it, and if it were of inferior quality she could be fined or placed in the pillory. The usual price of ale was from  $\frac{3}{4}$ d. to  $1\frac{1}{2}$ d. per gallon for the best, and  $\frac{1}{2}$ d. to 1d. per gallon for the second quality. Wine taverns were always separate establishments from the ale-houses. Sometimes the mayor, especially if he were associated by trade with the sale of food-stuffs, did not perform his duties honestly and the people suffered, and there were often feuds in the towns between the victualling gilds and the people generally.

There are plenty of cook-shops too at which we may buy food, cooked meat or fish or fowls ; in fact, there is every opportunity for the towns-  
Hostelries. people to buy for home use if they happen to receive an unexpected visitor. Here, again, there are careful regulations ; butchers are not allowed to sell cooked meats, nor is it possible to buy wine in the cook-shops. But these cook-shops are now being replaced by hostelries where guests may be lodged and supplied with food and wine. Fish is an important article of diet, and there are two distinct gilds of fishmongers—the salt fishmongers who sell the fresh fish, and

the stock fishmongers who trade in the dried varieties.

The gild-hall or town-hall, as the case may be, is not far from the market-place. It is built of wood

The or of stone, and, after the church, is the town-hall. most imposing building in the town. There may be both town-hall and gild-hall; in the largest town the more important gilds may each possess a separate hall. There are shops along the ground-floor of the hall, and the chambers of the gild corporation are in the upper story. Occasionally we may find the town-hall over one of the gates of the city, as at Lincoln; sometimes, as at Canterbury and Warwick, there may be a church on the wall at the gate, or the gate may be used as a prison, as Newgate in London was.

Some of the largest towns were chosen by the king to be staple towns, that is, towns to which the staple (or principal) commodities of the realm had to be brought for sale or export. Wool, woolfells, that is, sheepskins which still retained their wool, leather, tin, and lead were England's staple wares at this time, and certain merchants, known as Staplers or Merchants of the Staple, had the sole right of exporting them. Government regulated the trade and directed its course, partly perhaps to help by bringing buyers and sellers together at appointed times and places, but especially to ensure the collection of the customary duties. At times the staple town was on the Continent, in 1341 it was fixed at Bruges, in 1363 at Calais. At other times it was in England; ten towns were named as staple

towns in 1353, including Newcastle, Norwich, Westminster, and Bristol.

Under Edward I. and Edward III. much was done to encourage foreign trade, and alien traders and

Alien craftsmen were welcomed by them. merchants. The craftsmen were settled in various towns under the king's protection, the merchants were often granted settlements where they lived under their own rules of government, free from the ordinary regulations of the town. They elected a governor from among their number, and settled their own disputes and protected their goods much as a merchant gild might do. The most important settlement of this kind was the London Steelyard, a settlement of merchants from the German towns which formed the Hanseatic League. The Steelyard was situated on the banks of the Thames, where Cannon Street station now is, and the Hansards<sup>1</sup> brought there for distribution wheat, rye, and other grain, cables, ropes, masts, pitch, tar, flax and hemp; and exported wool and cloth.

In fact, much of the export trade was in the hands of German, Flemish, and Italian aliens, who brought into England the finer Flemish cloths, or the silks of Southern Europe or the spices of the far East. The merchants of Bordeaux brought wine and corn and took back wool, herrings, and lead; Spanish traders brought fine Cordovan leathers, better and

<sup>1</sup> Hanse (from Middle High German, *hanse*, a fellowship or association) was in current use in the Middle Ages to signify a company or gild of merchants. Thus the Gild Merchant of a town is sometimes spoken of as the Hanse.

softer than our English tanners could produce. Some English towns also were now famous for their wares, and Lincoln scarlet cloth and Kendal green, Norfolk worsteds, Sheffield cutlery, and English gold and silver smithing were becoming well known everywhere.

Much of this trade was carried on at the great annual fairs, which were older than the markets, and had been of great value in extending commerce. They seem generally to have arisen in connection with religious festivals, and occurred in many cases on or near the feast of the patron saint of the parish church. Like the market they were often the private right of some individual or corporation, who took the tolls; the shopkeepers were often compelled to close their shops while the fair lasted, so as not to injure its trade. They were often held outside the town on ground specially preserved for the purpose: Winchester Fair was held on St. Giles's Hill; the famous Stourbridge Fair in the open fields outside Cambridge; St. Bartholomew Fair just outside the wall of London in Smithfield.

The fair was like a very large market except that it lasted continuously for a given number of days, and tended to attract certain classes of goods. Winchester Fair was noted for wool and woollen goods; Stourbridge Fair attracted merchants and produce from all parts of Europe; Bartholomew Fair was famous for its sales of cloth. The opening of the fair was proclaimed by the ringing of the town bell or the blowing of trumpets. Special courts were set up, while the fair lasted,



to administer *merchant law* in all disputes between traders. These courts were presided over by the bailiffs or other officers of the fair, and were known as Courts of Pie-powder, from the French *pie-poudreux*, dusty-footed; wayfarers and itinerant merchants being often spoken of as *dusty-foots*. All classes of persons visited the fairs: merchants of many countries brought goods for sale and took English goods away with them; shopkeepers obtained at them their supplies for the next twelve months; many non-buyers, both rich and poor, came as spectators; and minstrels, jugglers and other entertainers were present to provide them with "all the fun of the fair."

Such markets and fairs were helpful alike to buyer and seller. Merchants and craftsmen could display their goods in safety, and buyers were encouraged to buy when the transaction was a public one. Buying in open market, or in *market overt*, gave the customer some confidence that the goods were genuine and that the seller had not come by them dishonestly. One difficulty was the presence of bad or debased coins, frequently those of foreign nations. A silver penny was the English coin most generally used, but Edward III. introduced gold nobles and florins into circulation. Money changing was an important occupation and a difficult task when foreign money of doubtful value was freely used. Difficulties also arose from the custom of clipping and sweating the coins and so reducing their value, and heavy penalties were inflicted for these breaches of the law.

But in spite of all drawbacks the markets and

fairs prospered and trade developed fast. In the thirteenth century alone there were royal grants of no less than 3300 fairs and markets, and 1560 more were added during the fourteenth century.

## CHAPTER VI.

### A MEDIÆVAL TOWN AT PLAY.

WE have now shared in the work-a-day life of the town, but we must not be led to suppose from what

The town we have seen that the life of the citizen at play. was one of all work and no play. Boys and girls, apprentices and burgesses, all had their times of relaxation, their holy-days or holidays when work was put aside and amusement and revelry became the order of the day. Nor was this revelry always of a refined nature, for our forefathers were inclined to be harsh and even brutal in their amusements. The presence of an open space known as the Bull Ring in some of our towns to-day bears witness to the extent to which bull-baiting was practised, and men and women alike enjoyed such spectacles as bull-baiting, bear-baiting, boar-fighting, cock-fighting, and the throwing at cock and hens loosely attached to stakes fixed in the ground.

But all their amusements were not of this type. Many of them were similar to those we have

Holiday already described in speaking of village festivals. life, and were similarly associated with special church festivals or with special seasons of

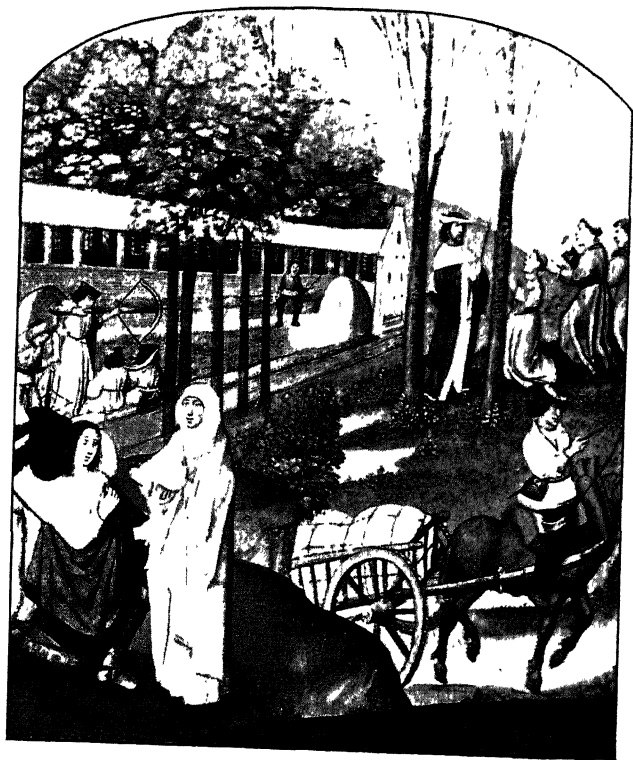
the year. Most towns and villages had their own celebration of the vigil or wake of the feast of the saint to whom their parish church was dedicated. Hock-tide was observed in town and country alike, though in the towns it had sometimes to be prohibited. Shrove Tuesday, Corpus Christi, and other church festivals were carefully observed. On the morning of Shrove Tuesday the school-boys took their gamecocks to school and spent the morning in cock-fighting; after dinner they went out into the open fields and played games of football and other sports. The girls went out to skip and dance; ninepins, battledore and shuttlecock, hoops and tops were also popular; and many of the older people found enjoyment in watching the young at play. There were days too when football might be played in the town streets, all the youth of the town sharing in the struggle, as is still the custom in a few towns to-day. But in the larger towns this speedily became a nuisance and had to be suppressed.

The defence of the town was always an important matter, especially if it was a coast town, and all Military sports. able-bodied townsmen were expected to share in its protection. The Fridays in Lent were used to practise the arts of war, sometimes by shooting at the butts with bow and arrow, sometimes by organising sham fights. Every Sunday the citizens were expected to spend some time in archery; laws were passed ordering them to leave their football, tennis, and such amusements, and practise archery instead. Twice every year a muster-at-arms took place. All the townspeople

assembled in the market-place or other appointed spot, armed for the fray with as good armour and weapons as they could afford, from the poor man's axe or hammer to the richer citizen's coat of mail, sword, and bow and arrows. All through the summer, while the boys whipped their tops or played at bat and ball, the youths played games which helped to strengthen them and fit them for military service, their games including jumping, dancing, wrestling, casting the stone, quarter-staff, and archery. Sometimes valuable prizes were given, a silver horn for the best archer, or a ram for the best wrestler. For those who could afford to fight on horseback there was the quintain—a beam of wood revolving round a pivot on top of a post, and having a shield at one end and a bag of sand at the other. Each rider tilted at the shield, and the careless tilter, who failed to hit the shield squarely, was laughed at, while he that was slow of pace was hit by the bag of sand as it swung round under the force of his blow. Horse races were another favourite amusement, and the wealthier men and women rode out into the country to hunt and hawk. Tournaments also were attended by the people of town and country alike.

At Easter, especially, London youths were fond of tilting in boats upon the Thames. They either engaged in mimic battle or tilted at a shield hung on a pole fixed in mid-stream. A youth armed with a lance would enter a boat without oars and allow himself to be carried down by the current towards the

Water  
games.



A SCENE IN THE MIDDLE AGES.

Notice the dresses of monks and nuns, and of the people generally. The rims of the cart-wheels are protected by means of projecting nails. The archers are using the cross-bow, not the usual English long-bow.



shield. His object was to break his lance by striking the shield full and clean, and failure to do this often resulted in his being jerked overboard, to the great amusement of the spectators who gathered on London Bridge and along the banks. In winter the presence of ice allowed of much sliding and skating. The earliest English skates were made of the shin bones of animals, and the skater helped himself along by using an iron-shod pole. Another favourite amusement was to use a large and smooth piece of ice as a seat, on which a boy or girl sat, to be drawn along by a number of companions who ran across the ice hand in hand.

The vigils of certain feast days, such as St. John's Eve and St. Peter's Eve, were also observed.

Feast days. The townspeople decorated their doors and house fronts with green boughs, festoons, and garlands of flowers interspersed with oil lamps. These lamps were lighted in the evening, when sweet bread and good ale were placed out of doors before the houses for all to share. Some of the summer vigils were made occasions for bonfires, which also served the useful purpose of fumigating the streets of the town. On May-

May-day. day all went out into the open country before the dawn "to fetch in May." Flowers, green boughs, and hawthorn branches were gathered, and were brought home at day-break, amid joy and merriment, to decorate the houses. The May-pole was set up with much rejoicing in some open space, and the day was spent in archery, morris dancing, and other pastimes and amusements.



Once every year came the important ceremony of beating the bounds. The common lands around the town were very valuable property, and it was necessary to see that the landmarks were not removed, and to establish the town's right to its territory. Hence each year on Holy Thursday the town officials, the priest, and many of the people marched in procession around the boundaries of the town or parish, and saw that all were correct and duly marked out. This event, like so many others, would also furnish an opportunity for the citizens to spend a social evening together, probably in the form of a supper or at the very least a "drinking." The gathering in of the harvests too meant change of occupation if not holiday for many of the townspeople. Apprentices and servants who could be spared from their crafts were compelled by law to help in this work, and the long vacation or summer holiday of the universities was probably arranged to allow the students to share in the task.

Fairs and tournaments were also holidays for many of the people, and jugglers, acrobats, The fun of jesters, and minstrels were present to the fair. amuse the spectators. There were women who could balance themselves head downward with the palms of their hands upon two sword points, others who could perform feats of juggling and balancing while walking on stilts, and there were also the ever welcome story tellers and ballad singers. All kinds of food and drink could be obtained, and some of the fairs became

noted for some special kind of cake or other food-stuff.

Minstrelsy and ballad singing were popular everywhere. Many towns supported their own

Minstrelsy. minstrels, harpers, pipers, or singers, and these stayed at home through the dark winter days and helped to amuse the citizens. But when spring came these entertainers left their homes and journeyed from town to town and from fair to fair. Wherever they went they could count on a warm welcome, and they were often rewarded at the public expense for their efforts.

Pageants and processions of all kinds were extremely popular. Coronations, royal marriages,

Pageantry. the births of princes, visits of royal personages, news of victories, or even the appointment of a new mayor, all offered opportunities for shows of this type. The streets were decorated and a procession was formed in which the municipal officers, in all the glory of their robes of office, took a very prominent place, while the gildsmen in their liveries, and carrying pictures or images of the patron saints of their guilds, were also an important part of the spectacle. The guilds too had their own special festival days, and after 1311 when the great festival of Corpus Christi was firmly established in honour of the consecrated Host, this feast day became in England the great opportunity for gild display. The festival was held about eight weeks after Easter, and was therefore always near mid-summer, when long days and June weather would help to make it a success. The feast

was celebrated with music and procession, flowers were strewn along the streets, and the citizens decorated their houses. In many towns there was a special gild, the gild of Corpus Christi, composed of the most important citizens, to manage the procession, in which the churches also shared.

The performance of outdoor plays dealing with religious subjects was also associated with the feast of Corpus Christi and the preceding feast of Whitsuntide. In early days the clergy sought to impress important religious truths upon the people's minds by means of simple tableaux or dramatic representations, just as they used wall-paintings and stained glass windows for the same purpose. These simple representations were associated with the special festival concerned, a tableau of the birth of Christ at Christmas, the placing of the crucifix with a portion of the Host within a specially built sepulchre at Easter, a representation of some incident associated with the life of a saint upon his special day, and so on. As such they were solely the work of the priests and their assistants, and were performed within the church itself or in the churchyard.

In England, however, these representations passed out of the hands of the clergy and became one of the duties of the gilds of the town. These shared the work of preparation and the cost of production. This division of labour resulted in the development of the performances into a sequence of plays upon Biblical subjects, which might

commence with a representation of the creation of the world, pass in review the chief events of the Old and New Testaments, and conclude with the spectacle of the Last Judgment. In the fourteenth century such plays were of two main types, miracle plays which illustrated some event in the life of a saint, and mystery plays which were associated with Scriptural history.

We are fortunate enough to possess play cycles, belonging to the towns of Chester, Coventry, <sup>their</sup> York, and Wakefield respectively, and preparation; it is interesting to know that there was a representation of the Coventry cycle as late as 1580, when Shakespeare was sixteen years of age and lived not far away. Each individual play was comparatively short, and the total number in a cycle varied with the number of gilds. The plays were allotted as much as possible in terms of the work of the gilds; thus we find that the shipwrights of York presented the scene of the building of the Ark; the fishmongers and mariners were responsible for the play of Noah in the Ark; the goldsmiths and moneylenders staged the visit of the Kings of the East with their presents to the infant Christ. No expense was spared in making the plays successful, and the gilds vied with one another in their respective shares of the production. The stage properties were made of good material, and were carefully painted and gilded. Splendid dresses were worn by royal characters, and the whole presentation was made as realistic as possible.

Many of the plays combined the greatest rever-

ence with rude fun and coarse buffoonery, which served to relieve the situation from too tragic a severity, and kept it true to life in its passage from jest to earnest and from laughter to tears. Certain scenes and characters were always expected to provide amusement: Noah's wife is a terrible scold and causes the unlucky Noah much trouble; Herod is represented as a vain boaster and ranter; the building of the Tower of Babel gave splendid opportunities for farcical misunderstandings.

Such performances were among the most popular amusements of the mediæval town. The plays and were presented on movable stages of presentation. two or three stories which were drawn through the streets to appointed stations, such as the open market-place or the public green. The spectators took their stand at the station most convenient for them and remained there through the day. Scaffolds and stands were often erected for their accommodation, and the windows of houses commanding a view of the stage were also filled with onlookers. The first act commenced about six o'clock in the morning at the first station. Its stage and actors were then moved on to the second station to repeat the act there, while at the first station the second act was played, and so on till the cycle was completed. The performances lasted with intervals throughout the whole of the long midsummer day, and there are recorded performances of the Gild of London Parish Clerks which occupied three and even eight days for their complete representation, and were patronised by the king and queen and many of the nobles.

## CHAPTER VII.

### CHURCH AND MONASTERY : CLERGY, MONKS, AND FRIARS.

RELIGION played so important a part in the life of mediæval society, that no history of the Middle Ages would be complete without some definite reference to its work. There were few if any undertakings, from the cradle to the grave, that were not associated with it, and the Church united all classes of society within its one form of worship and belief in a way we can scarcely realise to-day amid our various religious sects and parties. Within the Church all were equal, and the service of the Church was one of the means by which men belonging to the lower ranks of society could, and did, rise to the position of rulers in Church and State.

The unit of this ecclesiastical life was the parish. Each parish had its church and parsonage, and the parish church was a very important centre of town and village life. At first most of the parishes seem to have contained a rector, a priest whose duty it was to guide the people in matters religious. His parishioners supported him by their tithes and oblations. The latter were volun-

tary offerings and payments made for special services, such as baptisms, marriages, and burials ; the tithes were payments of a tenth part of all agricultural produce, or of the profits of trade and business. Out of these payments the rector was expected to maintain himself, provide for the needs of the poor in his parish, and exercise hospitality towards pilgrims and other passers-by.

The manorial landowners had rights of patronage which gave them the privilege of bestowing the

Rectors and vicars. benefice or living on whom they wished ; and after the Norman Conquest, the livings were sometimes handed over to the monasteries. The duties of rector were then performed by a vicar or deputy, who received only the offerings and a portion of the tithe, the rest going to the monastery. During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries benefices were often bestowed upon foreigners, who also employed vicars or chaplains ; and there were also many cases of pluralities, that is, of several rectorships being held by the same person, who was, again, compelled to seek the services of vicar or chaplain in some of his benefices.

The clergy came from all ranks of society. Some were the younger sons of landowners, others

Grades of clergy. the sons of middle class townsmen or small country freeholders, others the sons of serfs. A lengthy course of preparation was necessary in order to become a fully qualified priest, and many never completed the course but remained always in minor orders. Between the ages of seven and fourteen a boy intended for the priesthood passed through the four minor

orders until he became an acolyte, when his chief duty was to wait upon the priest and help in the preparations for the ceremony of the Mass. After this he could enter the university if he desired, and after a four years' course would become a sub-deacon. At twenty he became a deacon, and at twenty-five a priest in full orders. At each stage there was a distinctive dress and special symbols of office ; for example, the acolyte wore a close fitting linen garment and white tunic, and carried a napkin, a pitcher, and a taper ; in addition to the insignia of the lower offices, the deacon could wear a stole, or narrow embroidered silk band, over his left shoulder, and carry the book of the Gospels ; the priest wore the alb or long linen robe, and chasuble or cloak, which belonged to those who were entitled to celebrate Mass, the distinctive office and mark of a priest. Out of doors he would be recognised by his closely fitting tunic or cassock, his gown, and his tonsured or shaven head.

As time went on other types of clergy developed in town and country. The rector or vicar might have curates or assistant priests to help him in his work ; gilds often maintained one or more gild priests or chaplains to look after the religious necessities of the members ; domestic chaplains were attached to the private chapels of noblemen and gentlemen, whom they often served in secular as well as in religious matters. There were also a large number of priests attached to the chantries which came into existence towards the end of the thirteenth century. These were the gifts



of private individuals, and consisted of bequests of land or money to maintain a priest, one of whose duties was to offer masses at the church altars for the repose of the soul of the founder and any other person mentioned by him. The portion of the church containing this altar was often formed into a separate chantry chapel, either by means of a screen or by building an addition to the church. In the fifteenth century very few churches were without a chantry, and some of the wealthiest town churches had as many as ten. The chantry priests often helped the rector in the work of the parish; they also acted in many cases as schoolmasters. Generally speaking, their duties were much easier than those of the country parson, and there was a tendency for country priests to seek the towns to enjoy such offices as gild chaplain or chantry priest, and to leave their parish duties to be performed by vicar or by curate. But these were exceptions, and the majority of the clergy performed their duties well. They traversed the parish at all times of the day and night, and in all weathers, to carry consolation to the sick or administer the sacrament to the dying.

Each morning at five or six o'clock the morning Mass was celebrated for "such as be travellers by the way," while the Sanctus bell warned workers of the time of consecration of the elements and enabled them to kneel and share in the service. Similarly twice a day, at four in the morning and nine in the evening

in summer, and at six and eight in winter, the Angelus bell reminded the people of the duty of prayer to the Virgin. The church was also open throughout the day for private devotion. On Sundays there was morning service or Matins at six or seven o'clock, and High Mass at nine or ten, preceded by the blessing of the holy water and the aspersion or sprinkling therewith of church and congregation. The rest of the day was spent in rest or relaxation, except that during the afternoon many of the people attended Vespers or evensong.

The eastern end of the church, the chancel, which contained the altar, belonged to the rector, and it was his duty to keep it in good condition; the rest of the church, the nave, was the people's, and they were very proud of it and willingly spent money on its decoration and repair. From the fourteenth century a beautifully carved rood-screen of wood or stone separated the chancel from the nave. Above it was a loft or gallery, which might contain the organ if the church possessed one, but which always had in it a large rood or cross bearing a figure of Jesus, supported on either side by statues of the Virgin and St. John. Churches without the screen had the crucifix suspended from a beam, the rood-beam, which occurs as early as the eleventh century. The choir sat in the western portion of the chancel, the eastern was occupied by the altar, the sedilia or seats for the clergy, and the piscina, a small stone basin used for washing the holy vessels after

the celebration of the Mass. In front of and above the altar hung the pyx, a box covered with a richly embroidered cloth, in which the reserved portion of the sacrament was kept. Near the western end of the church was the baptismal font, and in the porch was a holy water stoup. At first the sermon was delivered from the steps of the altar, afterwards the pulpit was introduced and was placed at the chancel end of the nave. There were few seats in the churches, some stone or wooden benches along the walls were used by the older and weaker parishioners, but the majority of the people stood or knelt, as the case might be, upon the rush-covered stone flooring of the nave.

The walls were covered with paintings. One of the most important of these was a picture of the Day of Judgment on the wall above the chancel arch. There were generally other altars in the church, especially at the ends of the side aisles of the nave, and above each was a picture associated with the saint to whom the altar was dedicated. Each church also possessed valuable vessels and vestments for use in the services. These were the presents of zealous parishioners, and no cost was too great, nor workmanship too fine for them. Many of the vestments and altar and wall decorations were worked with the embroidery for which England was famous, and combined with the wall paintings and stained glass windows to give brightness and colour to the church. Gifts to the church might also take the form of land and houses, or flocks and herds. All these possessions

were the property of the parishioners and were carefully watched over by the churchwardens, who acted as the people's trustees.

Very different from the parochial clergy were the monks, whose monasteries sometimes flourished at

The monks. the expense of the parish churches, part of the tithes being appropriated for their use. The priest had taken holy orders ; the monk might be a layman. The priest lived and worked in the world, the monk in seclusion. Monks (and nuns) were members of communities of men (or women) who had devoted themselves to God's service, and to help in that service had bound themselves by vows to obey definite rules of life. Each community lived a common life within the walls of a monastery ; it was thought that by withdrawing from the world it would be easier to rise to higher ideals of thought and conduct. The day was arranged in a sequence of prayer, worship, and work, and no period was left without employment. The rules of different communities varied in detail, but the underlying principles were the same in all, and involved the vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience.

Christian monastic life originated in the East, notably in Egypt ; from thence it passed to Rome, and so to Western Europe. Its forms

Orders of monks : were severe, and its strict discipline, the rigorous fasts, and other mortifications Benedictines ; were unsuited to the harder climatic conditions of Western lands. In the sixth century St. Benedict instituted a new rule involving a common life under the control of a governor, and

this soon became the recognised form of Western monasticism. The Normans were responsible for great extensions of the Benedictine rule in England, where it was always popular. Westminster, Canterbury, St. Albans, Durham, Bury St. Edmunds, Glastonbury, Norwich, Peterborough, Winchester, Worcester, are only some of the Benedictine houses in England. The Benedictines were popularly known as the Black Monks. Their outer dress consisted of a white woollen cassock covered by a flowing black gown and a black hood. The nuns of the order had a black gown and veil over a white under-garment, and a white wimple which covered the neck and came closely round the face.

The history of a monastic order is generally one of decline and reform. Success brings wealth, the wealth brings relaxation of the rule, Cluniacs; and this leads to the institution of a reformed order, which calls men back to the devotion and austerity of the original rule. The first reform of the Benedictines originated in the tenth century at the abbey of Clugny, in Burgundy. It strengthened the discipline of the religious houses by making each house responsible to the Abbot of Clugny instead of only to its own abbot as heretofore. The dress of the order remained like that of the Benedictines. This Cluniac rule was never very popular in England, though there were important houses at Bermondsey, Lewes, Northampton, and Pontefract.

At the beginning of the twelfth century an order established by an Englishman, Stephen Harding,

tried once more to restore the rule of St. Benedict to its earliest observance. Harding was the abbot of Cîteaux, in Burgundy; this new order of Cistercians; is therefore known as the Cistercian. Its popularity was largely due to the nobility of character and energy of St. Bernard, abbot of Clairvaux. The rule called for a greater simplicity of life than monks were then observing. Its monasteries were built in secluded valleys, away from the haunts of men. The buildings were plain, and the churches devoid of ornament except such as was absolutely necessary. The members of each house were divided into two classes, the monks proper, and the lay brothers or *conversi*. These latter never took holy orders, and spent a large portion of their time at work in the fields of the monastery. The Cistercians were known as the White Monks from their white cassocks, gowns, and hoods, over which a black cloak was thrown when they went outside the monastery. The order was always popular in England; Beaulieu, Furness, Fountains, Tintern, Netley, Rievaulx, and Valle Crucis are some of its English abbeys.

The strictest order was the Carthusian, which was founded a few years before the Cistercian at the Chartreuse, in the south-east of France. Carthusians. Its rule of life was too austere ever to be popular, and there were never more than nine Carthusian houses in England. The most important of these was the Charterhouse in London. The life was a solitary one. Each monk had a separate cell, and only met his brethren at certain of the church services, and at dinner on Sundays

and feast days. The monks never tasted meat and only had one meal a day. They were the noblest of the monks, and right down to the dissolution of the monasteries maintained their rule in all its strictness. Every member of the order wore a shirt of horsehair next his skin ; his outer garments were a white hood and cassock, and over the cassock a white scapulary, that is, a long apron-like piece of cloth which passed over the head and hung down from the shoulders before and behind, while it was joined at the sides below the waist by a band of the same material about 6 inches wide. Also whereas the other orders had their heads shaved in a large circular tonsure, the Carthusians had their heads entirely shaved.

The monastic day lasted from sunrise to sunset, and therefore varied in length with the time of

A day in a the year. It was divided into twelve monastery. equal parts, the hours ; and duties were assigned to each portion of the day. Six times at least each day there were services in the monastic church ; after one of these services the whole of the monks assembled in the chapter-house, a portion of the monastery reserved for their daily meetings. Here a chapter of the rule of the order was read and explained, duties were allotted by the abbot or prior who governed the monastery, complaints of wrong-doing on the part of the monks were received, and punishments awarded. In the best days of the rule there were only two meals a day, one after Mass, about eleven o'clock, the second in the evening. The fare was plain and wholesome, and the monks dined

together in a large dining-hall known as the refectory or *frater*. During the meal one of them occupied the refectory pulpit and read aloud to the rest from the Bible or some other religious book. The rest of the day was spent in work and meditation. The sleeping place was a long and lofty room known as the dormitory or *dorter*. The beds were arranged in rows along the walls, and some dorters were divided into cubicles. There was a long and important service in the church at midnight in which all the monks shared.

The monastery was planned to allow of the work and service we have briefly described. The

The church was usually placed to the north so as to keep off the cold winds. The monastic buildings. It was cruciform in shape, with nave and chancel, and transepts which formed the arms of the cross. A space around the back of the high altar (the ambulatory or procession path) allowed of the processions, which were an important part of the ritual. On the south side of the nave were the roofed arcades or cloisters, in which the monks spent their days. They were built around the four sides of an open grass-covered space or garth. The chapter-house was in the east cloister, near the south transept, and next it was the dorter. A passage led directly from the dorter into the south transept to enable the monks to enter the church at night without passing into the cloister. There were two entrances to the church for day use, in the east and west cloisters respectively. The north side of the cloisters was the home of the oldest monks. Here they kept their books in





room or calefactory in which a fire was kept throughout the winter to which the monks might go at intervals and warm themselves, the almonry where alms were daily administered to the poor, the guest-house where pilgrims could spend the night, and many other buildings, together with the *curia* or open courtyard with its large gateway giving ingress to the monastery. The whole was shut off from the outer world by a high stone wall.

Some of the guest-houses (or *hospitia*) became places of refuge for the sick. In them the sick, lame, and blind, the lepers and the insane, were specially catered for; that is, they became hospitals in the modern meaning of the term. The care of the sick was looked upon in the Middle Ages as a religious obligation. Hence these early hospitals were associated with the religious houses.

Such an establishment required a large staff of officers. They included the abbot, who was head and father of the abbey; the prior, who came next in importance in abbeys, and was head of the priories; the precentor, who arranged the church services and was mainly responsible for their conduct; the sacrist, who attended to the relics and ornaments of the church; the cellarer, almoner, kitchener, infirmarer, and fraterer, whose names suggest their duties, and many others. There was also a large staff of paid servants to help in the work of the place.

What has been said of the life of the monks applies also generally to the life of the nuns, who lived and worked under the government of abbess

or prioress, the religious offices of their churches being performed by chaplains. Houses of Benedictine nuns were most numerous in Nunneries. England, but a few communities followed the Cistercian rule.

The clergy and monks thus formed two distinct religious bodies within the realm, and it was customary to distinguish them by speaking of the monks who were separated from the world as the regular clergy, and the clergy who remained in touch with the world as the secular clergy. Among the most important of the secular clergy were the parish rectors. The parishes were collected into dioceses, each of which was under the control of its bishop, who was one of the great landowners of the realm. Some of these dioceses were very large. That of Lincoln, the largest and most populous, stretched from the Humber to the Thames, and from Cambridge to Leicester and Oxford. One peculiarity of the English bishoprics was that many of them were closely connected with monastic institutions; the monastic church being the cathedral church also. Thus Chichester, Lichfield, London, and York were secular bishoprics of Saxon foundation; Canterbury, Durham, and Ely were some of the bishoprics associated with monasteries.

Each diocese had its cathedral, the church in which the bishop had his *cathedra* or seat. These

The cathedrals naturally became very important centres of worship, and a number of clergy were chosen to aid in its performance and in the administrative duties

of the diocese. In the non-monastic cathedrals these clergy, who were generally known as prebendaries or canons, lived within the cathedral precincts or close. The head of the canons was the dean. They were supported by a share of the lands and funds belonging to the cathedral, each

The priest's share being termed his prebend. They met in the cathedral chapter house under the presidency of the dean to consider the affairs of the cathedral. As in the monasteries, the meetings were termed chapters, and the control of the cathedral was in the hands of the dean and chapter, for the duties of the bishop prevented him from exercising any close supervision over the work of the cathedral.

Such a company of clergy formed a college of priests; each of these cathedrals was therefore a collegiate church; there were other churches too which were also collegiate, and were served like the cathedrals by colleges of secular clergy. St. Paul's Cathedral, York, and Lichfield were cathedrals of this collegiate type; Manchester, Ripon, and Southwell were collegiate churches which were not cathedrals; and we still have two collegiate churches in England, namely, Westminster Abbey and St. George's Chapel, Windsor.

The secular canons had rules for their government, but unlike the monks they were all priests, they lived in contact with the world, Regular: they were bound by no vows, and they enjoyed separate incomes and private property. But this idea of collegiate life developed until in

the twelfth century there were many bodies of Canons Regular, who were very much more like the monks or regulars than they were like the secular priests and canons. They lived a collegiate life under discipline, took vows and submitted to rules, but were not shut off from the world as the monks were, and served as priests in parish churches, especially in those belonging to their order. They became more monastic as time went on, and were often looked upon as monks. The two most important bodies of Regular Canons in England were the Augustinian or Black, and the White or Premonstratensian Canons. The rule of the former was supposed to be derived from St. Augustine of Hippo; the latter took their name from Prémontr  in France, where the order originated. The Black Canons wore long black cassocks, surplices, and amices, that is, fur capes or hoods, during divine service; and out of doors black hoods and cloaks bound with leather girdles, and a biretta, a square cap with prominent corners. They were always popular in England, their abbeys and priories including those at Bristol, Carlisle with a cathedral, Colchester, Ipswich, Oxford, Leicester, and Aldgate Priory in London.

The White Canons were never so popular. They approximated more to the White or Cistercian monks, and their discipline was therefore severer than that of the Augustinians. They had important houses at Welbeck, Halesowen, and East Dereham. Their dress was a black cassock

with a white cloak and hood and four-square cap.

Under the Augustinian rule and very much like regular canons were two military orders, the

Templars and the Knights Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem. Both were associated with the Holy Land and with the Crusading spirit that developed

there. The Templars were founded to protect the Holy Sepulchre, the pilgrims who visited it, and the highways leading to it; the Knights Hospitallers, to provide for the needs of the pilgrims and protect them on their way. Both orders became very rich and powerful, so much so that in 1312 the order of the Templars was suppressed. The headquarters of the English branches of these orders were both in London—the Templars in the Temple, which still contains one of their round churches, shaped after the fashion of the church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem; the Knights Hospitallers at the Hospital of St. John, Clerkenwell. Both were dressed in the armour of the period, but while the Templar's armour was covered with a white coat, having a red cross on the breast, and a long flowing white mantle with a red cross on the shoulder, the Knight of St. John had coat and mantle of red and cross of white.

Neither monk nor canon did much to help the poor and wretched people, crowded together in the

The Friars and their work: dirty hovels and narrow streets of the thirteenth-century towns. Even the parish priest proved unequal to the task. Sickness, plague, and unbelief were spreading

everywhere when a new religious order arose to meet the need of the time. Two noble enthusiasts were responsible for this : the one, St. Francis of Assisi, the son of an Italian merchant ; the other, St. Dominic, a Castilian. It was unbelief and ignorance which shocked St. Dominic, and the remedy was incessant preaching and teaching. It was sickness and poverty that troubled St. Francis, and the cure was the example and ministry of the begging friar or mendicant, trying, like the Master he served, to seek and to save that which was lost. St. Francis gathered around him a body of brothers (Fraters or Friars) pledged to poverty, and pledged to labour in the world to save the bodies and souls of the poor forsaken wretches of the towns. St. Dominic followed his example with a company of preaching friars. Both preached to the people, the Dominicans often in Latin to the educated classes, the Franciscans to the common people, in the rough and homely vernacular of the people themselves. Both came to England, and both were well received. They took up their abode in the poorest quarters of the cities and did splendid service there. Four greater orders and many lesser ones came into being. Their houses or friaries were modelled on the plan of the monasteries, but they were only temporary resting-places. From them the friars spread through the country, preaching in churches, or in the open air, collecting their audiences upon the highways, or round the steps of the market cross, or in the open spaces of the towns.

But like many of the other orders these friars or

mendicants became corrupt. From being eagerly welcomed as the missionary and revivalist helpers of the parochial clergy, they became objects of suspicion, the usurpers of the duties and offerings of the parish priests. Patriotic Englishmen like Wyclif, Langland, and Chaucer denounced them and their works. Yet in the days of their glory they had done very much for those to whom they had ministered so nobly.

In the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries they were to be met with in every town and village of the country. There was the Dominican, Preaching or Black Friar, dressed in white scapulary and hood which were completely covered by his long, black cloak and hood; the Franciscan, or Minorite or Grey Friar, at first in cloak of grey and hood of black, but afterwards in cloak and hood of brown. He went barefooted, or at most was shod in sandals, and his cloak was girded at the waist with a piece of knotted cord. The Carmelites or White Friars wore cloaks of white over a dark brown tunic and scapulary; the Augustinian or Austin Friars had black gowns with broad sleeves, black hoods and leather belts. These were the four great orders, and their dwelling-places may still be located in many of our towns as names of wards or districts. Besides these there were several lesser orders, such as the Crutched (or Crossed) Friars, and the Trinitarians, but all these minor orders were suppressed in 1370.



## CHAPTER VIII.

### SOME FAMOUS BUILDINGS.

WE have seen that religion played a great part in the life of the people of the Middle Ages. It was

also a period when people were greatly interested in building, and the union of these two interests resulted in the erection of many of the churches and cathedrals we have to-day. Of course the buildings constructed were not confined to churches. We have already spoken of the castles, town-halls, and gild-halls built by mediæval Englishmen; and examples of manor houses and barns, and beautiful half-timbered dwelling-houses are still to be found in many parts of the country. But some of the people's greatest efforts were associated with their churches and cathedrals, and it is in them that their work can be studied best.

One remarkable thing about these buildings is that we know very little about their builders.

They were not carefully planned in the way a modern architect commences his work. Much was left to the master workman employed on the structure, and he was essentially a practical workman who had learned his craft by

working at it for a number of years. Similarly the decoration of the church was left to the carvers, who expressed themselves upon the stone as best they could in accordance with the fashion in decoration at the time. Much of the work was done with rough measurements, and we do not find the exactness and correctness of modern work ; much also was a matter of trial, and there were many failures. Towers fell down from insufficient support or weak foundations, and we are still engaged in repairing their faulty workmanship. But the inspiration was theirs, and this is never more visible than when we compare a modern copy of their work with an original example.

All classes shared in the cost of erection ; the clergy and monks contributed their part ; parishioners were willing to pay for the improvement of their churches ; the pilgrims added their offerings to the fund. The churches were pious thank-offerings and sacrifices to God, and as they were God's houses they had to be made worthy of His presence therein. Hence they were large and strong, mysterious in their long-drawn aisles and dim religious light, lofty and aspiring in their towers and spires and pinnacles.

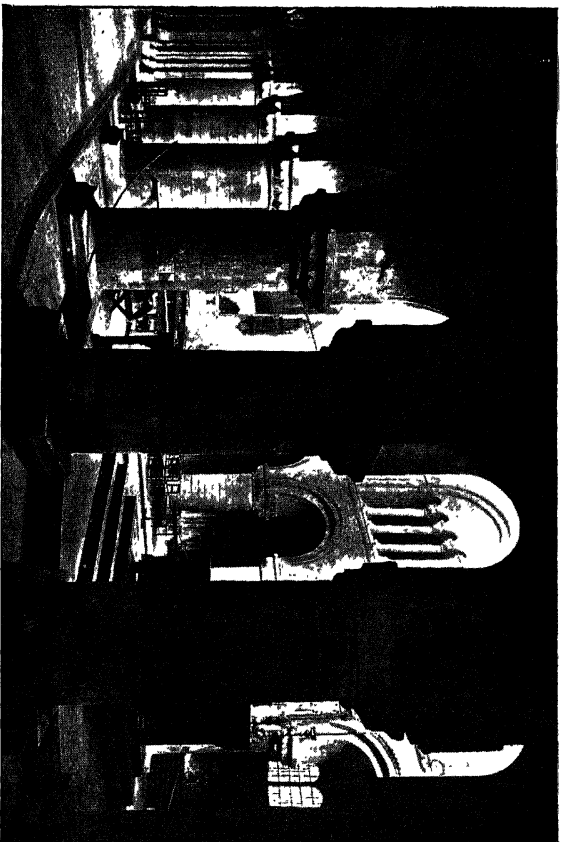
All through the Middle Ages church building and church planning continued to change and develop. Each generation added something to the methods employed. But the main characteristics remained very much the same. The church consisted of a long central aisle or passage extending from east to west with smaller aisles on either side. The

Mediæval  
church  
planning.

side aisles had low roofs, the main aisle was carried high above them so as to get light from windows placed above their roofs. There were also windows in the walls of the side aisles to light the ground-floor, and in order that this light might penetrate to the central aisle, the lower portion of the walls of the latter consisted of columns connected by arches on which the walls were raised. The window space at the top of these walls is called the clerestory, between it and the lowest or aisle story there is generally a space without windows known as the triforium or blindstory. We thus get three stories in the greater churches; the ordinary parish church usually has but two, the aisle story and the clerestory. The general shape of the larger churches is that of a Latin cross. The arms of the cross are to the north and south, and are called transepts; the main beam of the cross has its upper portion east of the transepts and forms the chancel, its lower and longer portion is to the west of the transepts and constitutes the nave.

By means of the clerestory the builders solved the problem of lighting the church, but roofing it was also difficult. It was possible to roof it with wood, but wood meant the danger of fire, and builders therefore tried to get inner ceilings of stone in the form of arched roofs or vaults, as they are generally termed. This was possible with the roofs of the low side aisles, but not with the high roof of the central aisle. They could not readily carry a stone roof across a wide space, for stone was heavy and required plenty of support.





INTERIOR OF A NORMAN CHURCH.

[*W. S. Campbell, phot.*]

The Choir of St. Bartholomew's Church, Smithfield, London. The building of this church was commenced about 1102 A.D.

Hence much attention had to be paid to roofing or vaulting, and this had a great effect upon the styles of architecture evolved. Let us see what these styles were, and suggest some simple means by which we can distinguish them.

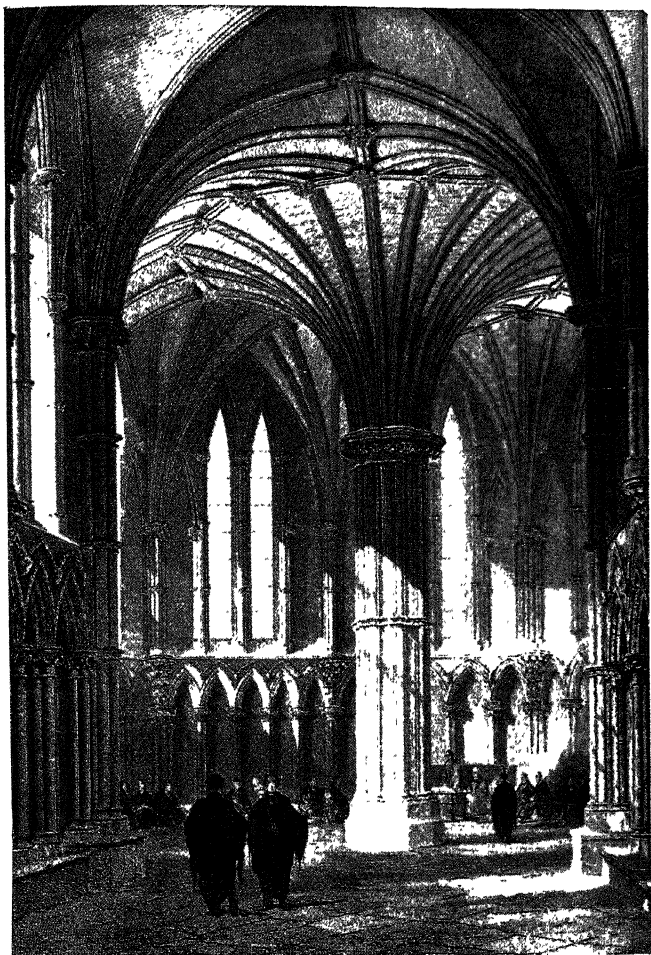
The early English were not great builders. They were content for the most part with small rectangular churches built of wood, or of rough stone covered with plaster. The windows were small, with triangular or semicircular tops, the tower square and crowned with a low roof in the form of a square pyramid. Their successors, the Normans, on the other hand, were famous builders. They rebuilt the cathedrals and many of the churches, remodelled the existing monasteries and founded many new ones. No country in Western Europe can show nobler planning and building during the eleventh century than England can, in what we term the Norman, or, better, the Romanesque style, for the style was derived from the methods employed by the builders of the later Roman Empire.

The Normans built always for strength, their buildings were therefore massive but gloomy.

Norman or Romanesque architecture. Large cylindrical or octagonal columns and huge piers of masonry supported semicircular arches, and doors and windows showed the same characteristic semicircular arch. The chancel was rounded off into a semicircular end termed an apse: similar apses occurred at the eastern ends of the side aisles, where additional altars were placed. Above the

crossing of nave and transepts a low square tower was often erected, there were also smaller twin towers at the western entrance to the church. The windows were small and narrow and splayed on the inside; the doors were generally made imposing, and highly ornamented. Many attempts were also made to ornament the stone-work within and without the church. As the tool was an axe, this carved decoration is naturally flat and shallow, and the forms employed are often geometrical (zigzags, stars, diamonds, trellis-work, and billets, that is, small blocks of stone with spaces between), though there are also representations of fruits and flowers, and of men and animals, often grotesque. There are plenty of examples of Norman work in England, for their cathedrals were sufficiently large and imposing to remain as the groundwork of subsequent builders. Good examples are to be found at Canterbury, Durham, Peterborough, Norwich, St. Albans, Winchester, Gloucester, and Hereford cathedrals, and at the Temple and St. Bartholomew's churches in London.

About the middle of the twelfth century the semicircular arch began to give place to a pointed one. This great change led to much alteration in building, and introduced the style of architecture known as Gothic. With it there came also a change in roofing. Wood had been used generally for the high vaults, and the lower side aisles and the crypts beneath the churches had been roofed by means of heavy vaults made of concrete. It



INTERIOR OF A GOTHIC BUILDING.

The Chapter House, Lincoln Cathedral. Erected between 1200 and 1250 A.D.





was now found possible to make a much lighter vault by carrying upwards a rib, or pointed arch of stone, from each of the four corner columns or supports of each section of the roof, to meet in the centre of the space to be covered. These formed two intersecting diagonals, and the triangular spaces between each pair of ribs were filled with thin layers of very light stone, such as chalk or tufa. The high vaults could be covered in this way; the ribs of stone were an added decoration, and their junction in the centre of the space could be covered by an ornamented stone or boss. Thinner columns were sufficient to support these ribbed vaults; the buildings became lighter and more graceful, the walls were made thinner, and large windows were introduced and were soon filled with stained glass. These thinner walls were supported on the outside of the building by projecting buttresses of stone. The outward thrust of the main roof on the walls of the clerestory was counteracted by the use of flying buttresses, stone supports which extended from the sides of the clerestory wall above the roofs of the side aisles to the tops of the aisle wall buttresses. These were lengthened to receive them, and loaded with stone pinnacles to make them heavy enough to resist the thrust. At first these buttresses were very plain, but they became more and more ornamental as time went on.

The Gothic style continued in use during the rest of the Middle Ages. We distinguish different periods of its work according to their most marked

characteristics, for the fashion in favour changed with the lapse of time. We speak of the work

Periods of from about 1150 to 1200, when the Gothic change was taking place, as Transitional architecture. tional ; between 1200 and 1300 is the Early English or Geometrical period ; from 1300 to 1380 is the Decorated period, during which Gothic architecture reaches its highest expression ; the period of its decline between 1380 and 1530 is spoken of as the period of Perpendicular Gothic architecture. But it is impossible to limit these periods by hard-and-fast dates. Different styles occur simultaneously in different parts of the country, and the changes from one style to another come gradually. Also it is at special points in each period that there is great activity in building. The last twenty years of the twelfth century is such a period ; the next century closed with a similar outburst of building ; the years of prosperity which marked the opening of the reign of Edward III. were specially active ones. There was also much church restoration and rebuilding during the fifteenth century in the prosperous woollen towns of the eastern counties.

The Transitional and Early English or Geometrical periods are marked by the great change in vaulting already described. The Transitional and Geometrical thinner and lighter clerestory and triforium walls are carried on graceful Gothic, columns connected by pointed arches, 1150-1300. and being lighter are raised much higher than in the Norman church. The loftier vaults add much to the beauty of the edifice.

The columns are of various shapes, and are ornamented along their length with shafts of dark Purbeck marble which stand away from the main column, and add greatly to the effect of light and shade. This effect is also increased by the deeply cut mouldings of windows, doors, and arches which are characteristic of the Early English style. The windows at first are still narrow, but they are lengthened and are capped by pointed arches, so that their shape is that of a lancet. These lancet windows soon begin to be grouped in sets of three, five, or even seven lights, of which the centre is the tallest ; and the whole set is made to form one window by being surrounded with a pointed arch. The blank space thus left above the lights is then pierced by a tracery of circles or other geometrical forms, which is elaborated until the mullions or upright staffs of stone between the lights are carried up and interwoven into a series of geometrical shapes at the top of the window, and we have the beautiful and characteristic geometrical tracery of the windows of the later geometrical style. The fashion of decoration also changes considerably, for the replacement of axe by chisel made deeper mouldings and cuttings possible. The commonest decorations are the dog-tooth, a projecting ornament suggesting a tooth or pyramid, and the diaper pattern. The capitals of the columns are generally bell-shaped, and are decorated with a stiff and conventional foliage.

At the same time the western entrance to the church was made more imposing, and spires were

added to the low Norman towers. The characteristic spire of this first period is the broach spire, so called because it has a base as large as the top of the tower on which it is placed, and therefore suggests a broach or spit. There were also great extensions of the eastern end of the church, which was generally made square and not rounded as in the Norman apses. During the Norman period the development of ritual and the increase in the number of relics and of pilgrims who came to see them had led to the formation of an ambulatory or procession path around the sides and back of the chancel. Smaller side chapels were placed around this as the number of saints and relics increased, and finally during the second half of the thirteenth century the increased worship of the Virgin led to the building of a large number of lady chapels which were mostly placed at the east end of the church, behind the high altar. Splendid examples of transitional work may be seen at Durham and Canterbury cathedrals, and in the Temple Church and Lambeth Palace. Early English work occurs at Salisbury, Canterbury, Southwark, Ely, Lincoln, and elsewhere.

During the next period, English Gothic rose to its greatest heights. There is an increased use of decoration, a constant striving for beauty and added effect in all directions. The geometrical designs of the windows give place to flowing interwoven lines of tracery, the old Norman wheel-shaped window develops into a beautiful round rose window ; the window spaces become larger, and are filled with

Decorated  
Gothic,

1300-1380.

stained glass. The dog-tooth ornament is succeeded by the ball-flower, a ball resembling a small circular flower or a hawk's bell. But the shafts which decorate the columns are no longer detached from it; the mouldings are shallower, and the effect of light and shade is obtained by increasing the number of the moulds or cuttings. The decorative foliage is less stiff and conventional. In canopies, windows, and doors the plain pointed arch is added to by trefoils, or changed for the doubly curving ogee arch. The ribs in the ceiling vaulting are increased in number, and every joint or intersection of the ribs is concealed by a carved boss. Outside the church, the spires become taller and slenderer, and their bases no longer fill the whole of the top of the tower. Flying buttresses are more frequent and more highly decorated; the wall buttresses have niches for figures, and both their walls and their pinnacles share in the general decoration. Quaintly carved and grotesque gargoyles are used as the ends of the waterspouts which carry the roof drainage clear of the walls of the church. There are good examples of this period at York, with wonderful fourteenth-century stained glass, Lichfield, Wells, Exeter, and Carlisle.

In the perpendicular period there is something of decline. The emphasis is now placed on straight lines both vertical and transverse, and Gothic, on the panelling which such lines produce. This is best seen in the windows and screens of the period. The mullions are now carried through the decorated tracery to the very

Perpendicular

1380-1530.

tops of the windows; they are also crossed at intervals by horizontal bands or transomes. The result is that the window is divided into a large number of panels, each of which can well be filled by a stained glass figure or by one of the heraldic devices that now become a popular ornament. The pointed arches become very much flattened; this may especially be seen in the doors of the period. Soon too the windows and doors begin to have square tops, or at any rate square hood moulds around the flattened arches. The ever-increasing ribs of the vault present the appearance of an opened fan from the large number of ribs which spring from each column, and we have what is known as fan tracery vaultings. The capitals of the columns are plainer, and the columns are panelled. The aisle story is raised at the expense of the triforium and clerestory, and the lighting of the church is made to depend more upon the windows of the side aisles.

Towers begin to replace spires, but they are much higher than the Norman towers, and have highly decorated buttresses and pinnacles at their corners. Flying buttresses are made still more ornamental, and the sides of roof and tower are generally built with battlemented parapets. Square and octagonal turrets are also used, and projecting windows known as oriels are added, especially in halls and houses. There are many examples of the work of this period. The roofs of Henry VII.'s Chapel at Westminster and of King's College Chapel, Cambridge, are famous; other examples are to be found at Winchester, Beverley, Bath, Chester, Canterbury, and St. George's Chapel, Windsor,

## CHAPTER IX.

### THE DAYS OF CHIVALRY.

THE basis of the feudal society of the Middle Ages was essentially military. The barons repaid their

overlord for the lands they held from him by personal service in time of war. Feudal society is military in basis. The leaders of every nation were therefore essentially warlike, and made fighting the chief object of their lives in war and in peace.

Success in battle, too, depended rather upon the personal valour of a leader than upon his skilful disposition and use of soldiers. Armoured horsemen were a very important element in every contest, and these *chevaliers* were often able to decide a battle by their charges alone.

Among these warriors there developed that institution of chivalry which is one of the most im-

portant of mediæval institutions. Institution of chivalry. In it was included the whole idea of a gentleman, and its laws and customs

became the guides of the conduct of every gentleman's life. It included his attitude towards war, religion, and womankind. The main spring of chivalric action was service, but service which had the sanction of religion and honour. The



life of every boy of gentle birth was regulated by the thought of chivalry. His ambition was to become a knight. Knighthood was the sign of nobility of birth and character, the reward of valour, and the passport which admitted a man to companionship with all other knights on terms of perfect equality. It was reached only by serving a hard apprenticeship and then giving proof of worthiness.

Under ordinary conditions boys of noble birth commenced their education in chivalry at the age of seven. This education was carried on in the courts of the feudal lords and in those of the highest clerics ; the most important nobles were able to place their sons in the courts of kings, where there were usually Crown wards requiring education. It was the general custom for boys to be trained away from home. From seven to fourteen years of age the boys acted as pages or henchmen under the orders of a squire known as the Master of the Henchmen, and acquired the habits of obedience and courteous service as they waited upon the ladies of the household. At fourteen the page was made a squire. He exchanged his short dagger for a sword, which was generally given him with fitting ceremony, served in the household duties of his lord, and became finally one of his personal attendants in tournament and war. Some squires never moved out of this degree to become knights ; the cost of knighthood was great enough to prevent it in many cases, and there are many instances of deeds of valour performed

by squires which are equal to the deeds of the best of the knights.

A great part of the education of these squires was out of doors, where all kinds of exercises and games were practised. But its aims were much wider than this. It necessitated a careful training in the use of arms and in horsemanship ; it required a knowledge of modern languages and their literature ; it provided a careful training in all the recognised rules of behaviour in the court and in society ; it taught that bravery and courage were two indispensable requisites in every gentleman. But it tended to make those associated with it look upon themselves as superior to any who were not of noble birth, though, at its best, it also impressed upon them the duties and obligations associated with this superior station in life.

The squire was only admitted as a knight after he had completed his education and had shown himself worthy of the honour. His **Knighthood:** <sup>how</sup> ambition would be to receive the distinction <sup>acquired</sup> ; upon some notable occasion such as the eve of battle or after victory had been won, or on some great civil or religious festival. He would also desire to receive it from some famous person, such as the king or a famous knight. Since knighthood was a mediæval brotherhood in which all were equal, every knight could confer the honour, though in process of time the right became restricted in practice to the sovereign and his representatives.

The ceremony of conferring knighthood was full of significance, though much of it had perforce

to be omitted on the battlefield. A squire who was about to receive the honour was divested by <sup>how</sup> his fellow-squires of his brown frock, conferred. the appropriate dress of a squire, and bathed by them as a token of purification. He was next dressed in the white robe of purity, and the scarlet doublet of nobility. He then spent the night preceding his investment watching his arms in the church. On the morrow he made his confession and was given absolution, after which he received the sacrament. He then gave his sword to the priest, who laid it on the altar, blessed it, and returned it to him. Next he gave his sword to his patron knight and made to him his knightly vow. In it he swore to speak the truth, to maintain the right, to protect women, the poor, and the distressed, and to be ever courteous, brave, and honourable. He was then dressed in his complete armour, with the exception of helmet, sword, and spurs, and knelt before his patron to receive the *accolade*, three strokes with the flat of the sword on his shoulder or neck, accompanied by the words : " In the name of God, St. Michael and St. George, I make you knight ; be valiant, bold, and faithful." The rest of his armour was now fastened upon him by squires and ladies, and it remained for him to show himself worthy of the honour he had received, by deeds of valour in war, tournament, or adventure.

The armour of the knight varied with the age in which he lived, but he was equipped in all cases with a covering of metal which left him well-nigh invincible. Very few completely armed

knights were killed in battle, their greatest danger was that of being unhorsed and trampled to death

Knightly or stifled in the press, for it was armour: difficult for a knight in full armour to rise once he was on the ground, and one of the duties of the squire was to help him on such occasions.

A Norman knight wore a hauberk or tunic of chain mail formed of woven links or rings sewn on leather, which reached from neck to knee and had the skirt slit to make riding easily possible. This was often continued over the head as a hood, and over this was a pointed metal helmet with a guard for nose and brow known as a *nasal*. His arms were a seven-foot spear or lance, a broad-bladed sword with cross hilt, a kite-shaped shield, and in some cases a mace or knotted club.

During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries plates of metal were worn under the mail as addi-

(b) 13th tional protection to breast and back, century; and by 1520 the knight had become covered in plates from head to foot. At first these plates were worn where there were joints in the mail armour, such as at the elbow and knee, then they were used as a protection for the arm, thigh, and lower leg. In the late fourteenth

(c) 14th century we find the fully armed man century; wearing a haketon or quilted body garment under a lesser hauberk of mail, covered by a hauberk of plate armour. The shield was also reduced in size and changed in shape to receive the armorial bearings which then became popular. The conical cap was replaced in the thirteenth

century by a barrel-shaped or cylindrical helmet with a movable front. In the next century the usual head covering was a globe-shaped helmet or bascinet with a movable visor in front and a camail or fringe of mail at the back to protect the neck. The armour was covered by a linen tunic or surcoat to protect it from rain, dust, and sun. At first this was long and flowing. Afterwards it became a short and closely fitting tunic, known as the *jupon*. On it was painted the knight's coat of arms. Each knight now carried also a long narrow-bladed dagger, the *misericorde*, which would pierce the holes of the visor or the joints of the armour, and enable him to dispatch his enemies, when they were dismounted. Finally, in the

(d) 15th century. fifteenth century each knight becomes encased in plate armour. The shield is no longer necessary, and disappears. The camail gives place to a gorget of steel plate, the bascinet completely covers the head. Horses are also armoured on face, breast, and back. Tilting armour becomes even more elaborate than battle armour, and we have tilting helmets with beak-like fronts, from which the lance will glide, and additional protection for the left shoulder, the thighs, and other exposed portions of the body.

Such armoured knights, squires, and men-at-arms formed the backbone of mediæval armies.

The Crusades. The Crusades afforded opportunities for their displays of skill and valour as well as for much indiscriminate plundering. Contact with the Saracens aided in the development of chivalry by furnishing opportunities

for knightly exercises, and by associating various nationalities in a common bond of brotherhood, while much could be learned from the Saracens of courtesy, art, and literature, as well as of offensive and defensive warfare. It was through the Crusades, also, that England became more intimately associated with continental, and especially with French chivalry.

The tournament replaced actual warfare in times of peace. It consisted of military exercises

The carried out for practice and display, tournament. and not in any spirit of hostility. When only two combatants contended the encounter was, strictly speaking, a joust; the tournament consisted of a struggle between a number of combatants on both sides. In the passage of arms a number of knights defended a chosen spot for a given length of time against all comers; in the wager of battle a knight charged with wrong-doing tried to prove his innocence by fighting his accuser. The most serious contest of all was the *mêlée*, in which a number of champions on each side fought promiscuously. Blunt swords were used, and the lances were fitted with a small crown or coronal instead of a point, but in the wager of battle and sometimes in the tournaments the contest was *à l'outrance*, and sharp weapons were employed.

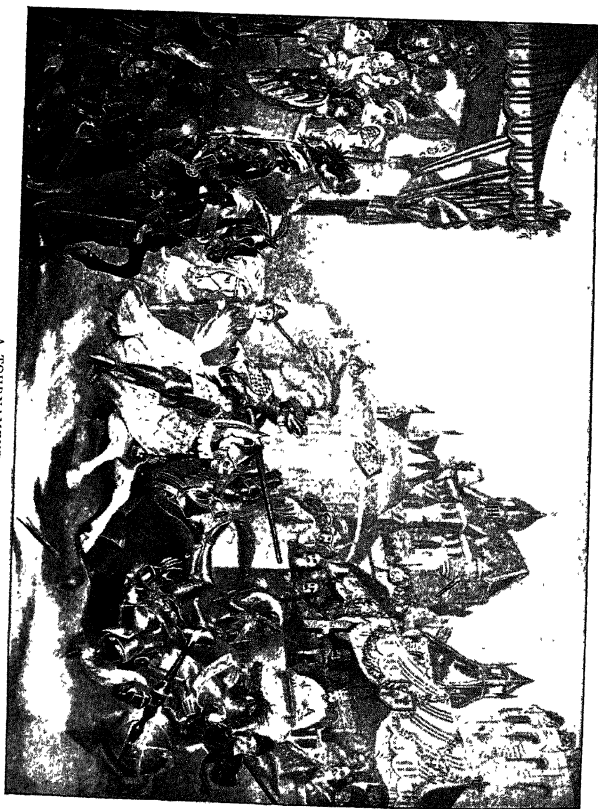
The place of tournament was the grassy outer bailey of a castle, or a meadow near it, or some

The lists. open space in or near a town. We read of tournaments taking place in Cheapside, on London Bridge, and at Smithfield

in London. The ground was termed the lists. It was oval in shape and was surrounded by a barrier, outside which were seats for spectators. Near the middle of one of the longer sides of the lists were stands or galleries for the king and the nobles, and also for the ladies, one of whom was chosen as the queen of love and beauty of the tournament. She judged the contest and gave the prize to the victor. The awards were varied, the commonest being coronets, or jewels, or chaplets of flowers or laurel. At the ends of the lists were the pavilions or tents of the competitors, each marked by its owner's coat of arms. Only those of noble birth were allowed to compete, and each competitor had to satisfy the heralds, who acted as masters of the ceremonies, on this point.

On the evening preceding a tournament the squires and young knights ran courses, the victors gaining the privilege of sharing in the  
 The day of the next day's contest. The tournament  
 tournament. was opened by proclamation of the heralds ; and the knights entered the lists wearing on their crests the favours of the ladies they served, in the form of glove, scarf, ribbon, or jewel. Challengers could ride and touch the shields of those with whom they wished to tilt. The heralds proclaimed the names of the combatants and the struggle began. The first course was with lances. A successful knight struck his lance on the helmet or breastplate of his opponent, without being unhorsed. If a knight was unhorsed or lost his stirrup he was beaten and had to retire. It was bad to miss the stroke, or to strike the lance across

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the body instead of striking with the point, or to hit below the girdle, or to strike the horse of an opponent. Sometimes the contest was only with lances, in other cases the struggle was continued on foot with sword or battleaxe. The squires ran into the press to bring their masters fresh lances or raise them from the ground if they were unhorsed. The spectators followed the struggle with keen interest. Each knight could be recognised by the coat of arms upon his surcoat, or in earlier days upon his shield; and the people had their favourites, whom they cheered and supported by special cries.

Sometimes the knight rode forth in search of adventure. If one went alone with a single squire, In search of he was known as a knight-errant, adventure. but the knights also went in companies of two or three or more. Many tales are told of these adventures in the romantic literature which grew up in association with chivalry; tales of gallant rescues of damsels in distress, of giants and other monsters subdued, and of wrongs righted and injuries redressed. Sometimes knights would set themselves a definite series of adventures, such as victory in a given number of tournaments or the vanquishing of a definite number of knights, before they could return home to their friends. Many of these enterprises were noble and honourable, but others were rash and foolish, especially in the days of the decline of chivalry.

For the end of the Middle Ages saw the downfall of this institution. New methods of warfare were putting an end to the predominance of the

knight in full armour. From the end of the fourth century, when the Gothic cavalry overthrew the

celebrated Roman infantry, the horse-  
The decline of man had been all-powerful in war.  
chivalry. Companies of armoured knights, squires, and men-at-arms mounted upon heavy war-horses had generally been able to sweep any infantry from the field. Even the close-packed arrays of pike-men had not been able to resist them. Many battles were decided by the shock of cavalry alone; and in such cases the leader was all-important and frequently performed tremendous feats of arms. Powerful knights, such as Godfrey de Bouillon, a leader of the first crusade, or our own Richard Cœur de Lion, could practically decide a contest by their own skill and valour.

But with the fourteenth century a change takes place. The despised archer is coming to his own.

Rise of the archer. The baseborn churl proves more than a match for the knight. Longbow and crossbow oppose lance and sword, and the missile weapon gains the victory. Body armour may be improved to keep out the arrow, but the archer still finds the joints a vulnerable point. He can also stop the career of the knight by bringing down his horse, and once the knight is dismounted he cannot cope with quickly moving light-armed troops. Edward I. used the archer effectively at Falkirk, and Edward III. at Crécy, and the introduction of gunpowder helped to make the decline of chivalry rapid and complete.

This decline shows itself in the replacing of the knight by the hired man-at-arms or mercenary

soldier who has to subject himself to training and discipline and do as he is ordered, while in the tournament it shows itself in the elaborate precautions taken to prevent injury to the combatants. Barriers placed lengthwise along the lists separate the knights, the lance is held in the arm farther from the barrier so as to make the stroke a cross one instead of the more dangerous direct one, and the whole thing changes from earnest fighting to mere pageantry and idle amusement.

Yet though the institution of chivalry passed away, much of its spirit remained. In spite of the evils of knightly arrogance and love of plunder, it had come into western Europe to soften the barbarities of warfare, to teach the duties of service, honour, and courtesy, to elevate the position of women, and to do something to succour the helpless; and when its outer trappings had passed away, something at least of what was best in its spirit remained in the manners and morals of the race, and chivalry continued to be the code of every true English gentleman.

## CHAPTER X.

### BY THE WAYSIDE IN MERRIE ENGLAND.

LET us journey together in fancy along one or other of the more important highways that ran through England in the Middle Ages.

The highway in spring-time. It is spring-time, the time of the year when it is most pleasant to be abroad, for the flowers of May have come in response to the wooing of the soft April showers, the birds are singing sweetly, the plentiful woodland trees are putting on their leaves again, and the tender crops of corn have softened the rugged surface of the plough lands with a carpet of green to which the harsher yellows of the fallow afford a not unpleasing contrast ; though the absence of hedges and hedgerow trees makes the scene far different from that of a modern English landscape. The peasants are at work in the open fields, the shepherd in his rough sheepskin coat, the ploughman in tunic of coarse cloth much rent and mended and dirty with mire. His hood is full of holes through which his hair protrudes, his patched hose hang loosely round his legs, and his toes pop in and out of the holes in his thickly clouted shoes as he follows the plough along the furrow.

His wife goads on the four feeble oxen which are so lean that you can count every rib in their bodies. She has a long ox-goad in her hand, her coat is cut full short to enable her to move more freely, and she has wrapped herself in an old winnowing sheet for protection from the wind. On the grass of the headland lie their two little ones, a baby wrapped in rags and a little child of two. They are crying pitifully as they lie there, though their father speaks to them each time the plough comes near.

If we are on holiday we shall probably be paying a visit to one of England's shrines. This is the

Mediæval  
holiday  
making.

most popular method of holiday making. It furnishes us with both excuse and objective, and gives a religious sanction to our enterprise; a very important fact this, for religion enters very closely into the everyday life of England. There are plenty of shrines, too, all worth a visit; the shrine and banner of St. Cuthbert at Durham, the shrine of St. Chad at Lichfield, or of St. Swithin at Winchester, the thorn tree brought from the Holy Land to Glastonbury by Joseph of Arimathea, or most famous of all the shrine of the Confessor at Westminster, or the gorgeous and world-famous shrine of St. Thomas of Canterbury.

Not, however, that all pilgrims are merely holiday makers and on pleasure bent. Many of them journey in fulfilment of vows made, in hope of healing to be performed, in penance for sins committed, or in thanksgiving for help rendered to them in response to prayer and vow when they were sick or in distress; devout men and women

of simple, honest faith who believe sincerely in the necessity and utility of their enterprise.

But we must not set out alone upon this journey. Unfortunately there are many thieves and robbers

Dangers by the wayside.	upon the roads, men who often pursue their quest in bands, not infrequently as the retainers of some baron or knight. These men rob merchants of their goods, hold men and women to ransom, and maim and even murder those who oppose them. Indeed, so bold do they at times become, that there are occasions upon which they attend the sessions in force, out-brave the justices, and secure the acquittal of such of the band as have been captured. We may well thank King Edward I. for his Statute of Westminster, 1285, which ordered landowners on either side the highway to clear back all coppices and brushwood, and fill all ditches and hollows for two hundred yards on both sides the track, so as to leave no shelter for robbers, on pain of being held responsible for all robberies and murders committed near their lands, if they failed to do so.
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However, a company of travellers will readily be found. We may join such a set of pilgrims as journeyed with Chaucer from Southwark on his famous pilgrimage to Canterbury. In it nearly all grades of English society are mixed together in frank and cheerful friendliness, and by their intercourse beguile the tedium of the journey. Let us take a look at our companions. Here is a "verray parfit gentil knight," who has just landed from the

wars against the pagans in the East, as the bespattered jupon which covers his coat of mail clearly shows. He is making this pilgrimage as his first duty, probably in performance of a vow made in battle or a promise based upon his safe return. With him is his son, a well-built young squire of twenty, who is always singing snatches of the courtly songs of love. His short gown with its long, wide, and richly embroidered sleeves suggests that he is careful of his dress and follows the latest fashion of the Court. Accompanying them as their servant is a close-cropped, brown-faced yeoman dressed in coat and hood of green. His horn, his long bow and sheaf of peacock arrows, and the image of St. Christopher upon his breast, show that he is a forester, and he is armed also with sword, buckler, and dagger.

Close by is a red-haired miller with spade-shaped beard, a sturdy, big-boned, broad-shouldered fellow, who is a splendid wrestler and a constant prize-winner in the village sports. He too has sword and buckler at his side, but he is now busily engaged with the bagpipes with which he hopes to play us out of the town.

That white-bearded and red-faced horseman with dagger and pouch at his girdle is a franklin, or country freeholder, who is very fond of good cheer and keeps open house at home. There are also among others a merchant with forked beard, dressed in motley and Flemish beaver hat ; a doctor of physic in red and grey gown lined with silk ; and a serjeant of law more plainly clad in a coat of mixed colours and girdle of silk. Very different is



the appearance of yon brown-faced bearded sea-captain, whose riding shows that he is more accustomed to the sea than the land. He is dressed in a plain gown of coarse frieze which reaches to his knees, and his dagger hangs handily beneath his arm.

Another section of the company is associated with the Church. Here is a monk, somewhat a man of the world, as is shown by his soft boots, by



CANTERBURY PILGRIMS.

his gown with its sleeves richly embroidered with fur, and by the gold pin with a love-knot for its head with which his hood is fastened under his chin, to say nothing of his shining bald head and face, and his fat deep rolling eyes. He does not seem to be very kindly disposed towards that friar whose gown and hood are of good worsted cloth, and who affects a decided lisp in his speech. Then there are a pardoner, that is, a cleric licensed to

sell papal indulgences, and a summoner, a man whose duty it is to call offenders to appear before the ecclesiastical courts. The pardoner is yellow-haired, with long smooth locks falling well over his shoulders, and he carries a wallet before him which is stuffed full of pardons and relics. He is singing in a small thin voice the popular "Come hither, love, to me," and his comrade the summoner, whose



*(After the painting by T. Stothard, R.A.)*

fire-red, pimpled, and scabby face, and the fact that he has placed a large garland on his head and has made a buckler out of a huge cake, would suggest that he is over fond of wine, is singing bass to the pardoner's refrain. The smiling prioress is of another class. Her fair forehead and soft grey eyes, her well-proportioned nose and dainty mouth, mark her out as one of the fairest of the company, and she tries to show that she is well-bred and accus-

tomed to courtly ways. She is dressed in spotless wimple and well-made cloak, and with her she has a nun as chaplain and three priests besides. Then there are a plainly dressed country parson evidently not over blessed with this world's goods, though his face shows him rich in holy thoughts and works, and his brother, a plowman, riding with him.

The lady on the nag who is discoursing loudly of her previous pilgrimages to Jerusalem, Rome, Galicia, and elsewhere, is a cloth-maker of Bath. She is quite willing to make good fellowship with all, and her dress betokens prosperity. Notice her fine scarlet hose, her soft new shoes, her spurs and riding skirt, and the kerchief of fine texture with its heavy golden net-work ornament and the large hat which she has upon her head. That group of men in the distinctive liveries of their fraternities are evidently town burgesses, all rich enough to be aldermen, as is shown by their girdles, pouches, and knives, which are ornamented with silver. They have brought a cook with them to look after their food. The man on the grey cob who is bringing up the rear is a reeve or farm bailiff. He is slenderly built, clean shaven, and with close-cropped hair, and we notice that he has carefully tucked his long blue surcoat within his girdle. The thin and hollow-looking parson in coarse and threadbare coat, and with a horse as lean as a rake, is an Oxford scholar who is fonder of books than of money; very different in appearance is he from that jovial innkeeper who is stout and lusty, bold of speech, and a born master of men. Then there is Chaucer himself, somewhat like the innkeeper in

build, though his small, fair, intelligent face and downcast, meditative eyes betoken him a man of different nature and ability.

All the company are on horseback and the ladies sit astride like the men, for the side-saddle was not

Care of  
roads and  
bridges. introduced until the fifteenth century. Nor are we surprised at the comparative infrequency of wheeled vehicles as we proceed along the rough uneven roads. The Romans had built a number of well-made military roads which still remained in the Middle Ages, roads which the owners of the adjacent lands were generally expected to keep in good repair. Often, too, in England, as elsewhere in Europe, the maintenance of roads and bridges was looked upon as a pious obligation and a work of charity. Offerings were freely made, and lands were left by will to support their upkeep, for at a time when the absence of a bridge might mean a journey of many miles before the river could be crossed, it was a very serious matter should one fall into disrepair.

Yet there was very much neglect, the money was often diverted to less worthy purposes, bridges fell to pieces from lack of repair, roads were left unmended. In times of flood the low-arched bridges could not accommodate the rising waters, and the larger rivers flooded the roads and tore them up. The smaller brooks and streams always ran across the roads, and in rainy seasons turned them into lakes and pools. One of the parliaments of Edward III. was actually compelled to delay its opening because bad weather had made the roads impassable. Still, the ever-

growing trading inter-communications, and the fact that the manors of nobles, bishops, and king were scattered throughout the country, did something to maintain the highways in a fair state of repair, though at their best they were very much inferior to our own tarred and macadamised roads.

However, we do meet with some wheeled traffic as we go along. Here is a village cart drawn by

Wheeled dogs, oxen, or horses. The cart is not vehicles. much more than a large heavy box with solid or latticed sides, fixed upon two clumsy wheels whose rims are protected from wear by the projecting heads of large rough nails. Very different is the four-wheeled vehicle we are now approaching, and by which yon knight is riding. This is drawn by a string of four horses driven by two postilions, and is a long box-like carriage with a tunnel-shaped covering stretched over it upon hoops. The wheels and sides are richly carved and the covering is beautifully decorated. The tapestried and cushioned interior shows that it belongs to some person of rank and wealth, as we may also gather from the rich close-fitting gown of the lady who is looking out of one of the curtained openings which serve as windows. Only the richest in the land can afford such luxurious conveyances. Yet even with all their comforts the absence of springs makes horseback preferable ; indeed, the accompanying horse-litter seems more comfortable than the carriage, when we remember the wretched state of the roads.

Litters. This litter is a hammock-like conveyance stretched upon two long poles which are attached

to horses before and behind ; it is covered in much the same way as the carriage.

If our journey is a long one we shall probably fall in with the retinue of some manorial lord

Baronial travelling to one or other of his manors. retinues. There he will stay for a time and consume the produce of the estate before moving on again to the next. He is accompanied by his steward, by some of his clerks and other minor officials, and by the various members of his kitchen staff. His retainers all wear his badge, and many of them look like old soldiers who could fight well for him at need. They are followed by a long train of pack-horses and heavy wagons carrying the requirements of his household. Or we may meet with some bishop and his train moving likewise to one of his manors or engaged in a pastoral visitation of the churches of his diocese. His equipage is very much like that of the baron, and there is something of a military air about the whole procession.

The king also is generally moving through the realm with a large and imposing retinue. He is

A royal preceded by twenty-four stalwart progress. archers, and accompanied by two marshals who arrange the movements and resting-places of the company, and have power to arrest all offenders along the line of march. Then there are the officials of the Court, and the nobles who are in attendance upon the king with their trains. He may also be accompanied by officers responsible for the administration of justice in certain cases. Notice is given to the sheriffs as to where

the trials will take place, and they attend there with the prisoners.

It was no easy matter to provide food and means of conveyance for the royal train, and the

The difficulty was met by the recognition  
 right of of the king's right of purveyance. By  
 purveyance. virtue of this he was preceded by  
 purveyors, servants who had authority to buy  
 up food at customary prices for a space of two  
 leagues on both sides the road the king was to  
 follow, and to take all the necessary means of  
 transport at fair prices from the people. Under  
 unconstitutional kings such as Richard II. this  
 right of purveyance led to grievous wrong-doing ;  
 horses and carts and provisions of all kinds were  
 seized, and only a wooden tally given in return,  
 an acknowledgment of debt which was rarely  
 redeemed. No wonder that on the approach of  
 the king's retinue the wretched peasants, who

Its abuse. were unable to escape by bribing their  
 oppressors, would sometimes flee to the  
 woods with all their movable goods, and wait  
 there until the king had passed. Nor did the  
 king always get for his own use the materials  
 seized, the purveyors would keep the best for their  
 own use or sell them again at a profit, and there  
 were even those who pretended to be king's  
 purveyors and so robbed the poor.

The king's messengers, too, are moving through  
 the country, carrying proclamations and sum-  
 monses to the sheriffs, nobility, and clergy, or acting  
 as messengers in other ways. They are known  
 as heralds when they are sent abroad. Ill betide

the person who hinders one of them. A king's messenger can claim always to be served first in the inns and elsewhere, and he has the right to take all the short-cuts he knows of, even at the expense of the crops. Other messengers also carry letters and news from place to place, serving as "postmen" for those who can afford such a luxury.

Then there are companies of merchants travelling together for protection. We have one of these merchants in our company, but now he is taking holiday. These we are meeting are moving from town to town in pursuit of trade, and are frequenting the various markets and fairs. Their goods are done up in large packs or "males," and with their servants and pack-horses they form a large company. The pedlars, of whom there are many, are of lower grade. They travel on foot with their packs of wares upon their backs. Some of them are not of very good character, but all are welcome in the villages for the news they bring, as well as for the articles they sell. You may buy from them many necessary articles of wearing apparel, ribbons, girdles, pouches, purses, hats, gloves, fur, and other trimmings, which are not retailed in the villages in any other way. But it is necessary to watch some of these light-fingered gentry closely, for nothing comes amiss to their pack, and some of the things they sell have not been obtained by honest purchase.

Far worse than the pedlars is the crowd of beggars and mountebanks who follow the road



as an easy means of livelihood ; the army of peripatetic entertainers, jongleurs, or story-tellers

Peripatetic and ballad singers ; gleemen, mummers, entertainers, and tumblers, who are welcome wherever they go. They will be well received in castle hall and town market-place, on the village bridge and at the cross roads, or in the wayside inn where weary travellers are staying with nothing to occupy their time.

The best minstrels are of a higher type than any of these. They are skilled in the use of various musical instruments, the harp, lute, tambourine, guitar, and vielle, a sort of violin, and can relate the

Minstrels. famous stories of old romance so popular in the castle hall after dinner has been served. On many occasions they meet with a good reward for their efforts, but some of them turn their talent to baser uses and sing ribald and shameful songs, though this is more often a characteristic of the jongleur, who usually adds tricks and buffoonery to his singing. These are more popular with the common people, who prefer jugglers and conjurers, dancers and tumblers, actors and mummers, and some of these performers are capable of quite amazing feats. Your ballad singers and jongleurs can also be satirical and sing songs and tell tales which attack the clergy and nobility and even the king himself. In fact, this is one way of spreading discontent and rousing rebellion.

There are also clever charlatans, after the manner of our modern quack-doctors, who are very skilful of speech and sell infallible remedies

for all kinds of ills to the rustics who gather at market and fair. Then there are beggars of all descriptions, men with performing bears, blind men led by dog or boy, the maimed and incapable, and those who are skilful in counterfeiting madness

and various forms of illness to awaken Beggars. the pity of the onlooker. In all probability there will also be among them serfs who are escaping from their manorial lords, and seeking the refuge of a corporate town. If they can live there unmolested for a year and a day they will become free men and cannot be hailed back to servitude.

Some of these serfs, again, may be in the ranks of the poor pilgrims, who, less fortunate than ourselves, are compelled to journey afoot, moving through the country with scrip and staff, begging as they go. If they are pilgrims returning from their journey, they will be wearing in their hats or on their cloaks the leaden brooches and other signs of the pilgrimage they have made; the palm branch from the Holy Land, the little flask or ampulla so popular at Canterbury, or the shells from the shrine of St. James of Galicia. They will tell you of the marvels they have seen and the perils and miseries they have endured by land and sea, and will beg of you a farthing to help them on their way. Some of these, again, are but false pilgrims, for the life is not unpleasant to some people, and the disguise is a good one for those who are fleeing from justice.

These latter, however, will be more likely to avoid

the highways, and seek the shelter of the forests which exist in various parts of England. There

they can join themselves to the bands of outlaws who move about the country robbing the rich merchants and clergy, and living on the proceeds of the chase. Any criminal who escaped from justice was called upon at four successive county courts to present himself for trial. If he failed to do so, he was declared an outlaw at the fifth. He then lost his civil rights, all his property was confiscated, and he could be slain at sight without any trial. He may not have been so picturesque a fellow as Robin Hood and his merry men, but the harshness of the Norman forest laws made the poorer classes sympathise with him, and, so long as he robbed only the rich and was not too greatly daring, he was fairly safe from capture.

But now it is time to think of a resting-place; for when roads are bad and robbers are abroad, it is only safe to travel in the daytime. There are many places of rest for our different travellers. The king can turn aside to the castle of one of his nobles, or spend the night as the guest of some monastery. Only the most important members of his retinue will go there with him, the greater part of them will be quartered in the houses of the nearest town. Monk and baron alike welcomed the traveller of rank who passed their way. There was always open house for him, and in return he gave them news of the world and gossip of the Court. The poor and needy beggars and pilgrims at the

other end of the social scale could also find a night's lodging in the guest hall of the monastery, where food and shelter were specially provided for them.

Merchants and ordinary travellers like the better class of pilgrims could go to the inns which catered

inn. specially for them. Where there were

many pilgrims there were sure to be special inns for their accommodation near the shrine. Also at intervals along the route, especially at the cross roads, were ale-houses where the passer-by could get refreshment, though many of these were little better than huts, and some, especially in and near the towns, were the haunts of criminals. The usual sign of a tavern was an ivy-bush or tuft of foliage suspended from a pole which was not permitted to project across the road-way for more than 7 feet. There was also in many cases an additional sign in the form of a large garland, generally of three hoops placed at right angles to one another and decorated with ribbons.

We must choose the best inn we can find and enter it at once. We can order what food and drink we require and pay for each article separately. This food we shall have to partake of in a common room where all the travellers are congregated, and then we can go to bed for the night. Our bedroom we shall have to share with several other persons, and we shall be very lucky if the presence of fleas or mice or other vermin does not detract from our comfort. As it will also be necessary to take some thought for our goods, we can scarcely anticipate that our sleep will be sound and undisturbed.

## CHAPTER XI.

### CHANGES IN COUNTRY LIFE.

WE have seen that the method of farming adopted in early England was the open-field system, a system based upon the co-operative work of a number of land-holders, who held their land as serfs of an overlord.   
Commu-  
tation of  
labour  
services. The development of this system up to the end of the thirteenth century has been traced, and the general tendency throughout the period toward commutation of labour services for money payments has been pointed out. It seemed as if serfdom would soon die out and be replaced by a system of free labour. At the same time the towns were developing their trade ; and trade brought more and more money into circulation. The use of money began to enter into the country districts, and the increase in the use of money for payments, instead of the older payments in kind, that is, in labour or in articles of food, etc., tended still more to the commutation of labour services.

But all the changes that were taking place depended for their success upon the continued presence of a sufficient number of wage-paid

labourers willing to work at the customary rates of wages. This in turn depended in great measure upon the continuance of good harvests. Danger of  
famine  
and  
plague. Famine and pestilence were never very far away from the people of the Middle Ages. In 1314 the bad harvest brought the people to the verge of starvation. Many died, and wages rose about 20 per cent., a warning of what might happen in a time of serious plague.

Unfortunately serious plague did come. From the autumn of 1348 to the spring of 1350 pestilence raged in the land. This plague, now generally spoken of as the Black Death, swept across Europe from the East and 1348-1350. ravaged the south-west, middle, and east of England, in town and country alike. The progress of the disease was extremely rapid and its power of infection very great. Persons seized with it generally died within two or three days of its onset. Men and boys were more subject to it than women and girls; the poor, crowded together in their small and dirty houses, were the chief sufferers. The unwholesome food, the dirty narrow streets, the lack of vegetables, the insanitary conditions under which the people lived, all helped the progress of the disease. It is difficult to say with any exactness what the actual death-roll was. "The fell mortality came upon them, and the sudden and awful cruelty of death winnowed them," and in the face of so terrible a disaster, the chroniclers were liable to overestimate the extent of the evil. Some go so

far as to say that nine-tenths of the population perished. But this is an exaggeration. Dr. Jessop has examined certain records in East Anglia, such as the rolls of the manorial courts and the diocesan registers of the institution of new priests to benefices, and estimates that somewhat more than half the population in the affected areas was swept away. Some of his examples show us the extent of the evil as nothing else can. In Hunstanton 172 tenants died in eight months, 74 of them without male heirs, and 19 others without any heir at all. In a single year upwards of 800 parishes lost their parsons, 83 of them twice, and 10 of them three times in a few months.

Such a disaster was bound to have far-reaching results upon society. At first the state of affairs was almost chaotic. The ordinary  
Its immediate local courts could not be held ; lands  
results. were left untilld ; harvests went unreaped and rotted in the field ; the cattle wandered over the land, broke down the fences, and spoiled the crops. The surviving labourers demanded increased wages, and, as labourers were very scarce, agricultural wages went up about 50 per cent. There was also a sudden increase in the cost of all kinds of articles, and especially of those which involved much labour in their production, for the scarcity of artisans had naturally resulted in a great increase in their wages too. Food prices also rose, though not to so great an extent.

The lords of the manors suffered heavily. It is

true that they gained large quantities of land which escheated or came back to them owing to the lack of heirs, and they received also a large number of heriots, or gifts made by heirs in succeeding to land, and fines paid by new tenants. But in many places there was not sufficient labour to work the land, and land without labour was useless. Besides, the quit rents or payments made for commuted services were now insufficient to provide the labour to replace those services, for the quit rents had been fixed in earlier years of labour plenty, whereas wages were now some 50 per cent. higher. In addition, rents, whether paid in money or in kind, fell considerably, for the supply of land now greatly exceeded the demand. This benefited the freeholder who could take up additional land, and villeins who had commuted their services were able to do the same. But the lot of the villein who was still subject to labour services was a hard one. His services were naturally very valuable to his lord. He was forced to work much harder than formerly, probably alongside free labourers who were benefiting by the great rise in wages, and he could see that if he had commuted his services, he also would have been able to get work as a labourer at these rates, or take up land for himself. Many of the peasants moved about the country to where labour was needed most. They combined together, and demanded high wages and the best of good food as the price of their services ; failing which they refused to work, and became beggars along the highways.



It was imperative that the Government should interfere, but parliament could not come together in 1350, owing to the presence of the plague in London. An attempt was therefore made to meet the difficulty by a royal proclamation. This ordered that since labourers would not work except for excessive wages, and therefore the land was remaining untilled, any one whether freeman or villein, who had no other means of livelihood, was not to refuse to work for any person who offered him customary wages, that is, the wages paid in 1347 and the five or six preceding years. No one was to give or take higher wages under severe penalties. Each lord was to have the preference in hiring men of his own estate, but no one was to have more men in his service than were absolutely necessary. Also, as it was obviously impossible for men to live on the old wages when the cost of living had increased so much, an attempt was made to bring back the prices of food and the other necessities of life to what they were before the plague occurred.

When parliament met in 1351 it converted this proclamation into a statute law, the first of a series of Statutes of Labourers which had for their object the regulation of wages by Act of Parliament. To attempt to regulate wages in this way may seem strange to us, but it is quite in keeping with the spirit of the times to which it belongs. We have seen how the guilds regulated wages, hours of labour, and selling prices in the towns; and how

First  
Statute of  
Labourers,  
1351;

parliament interfered to regulate the prices of bread, ale, wine, and other articles of food and general use. We must also bear in mind that in attempting to bring back wages to their former level, the authorities tried to bring back the cost of living to a corresponding level also. But the attempt was a failure, and nothing shows this more clearly than the number of re-enactments of the statute. In 1357, and again in 1361, the Act was re-enforced with severer penalties for non-compliance, and there were periodical re-enactments throughout the fifteenth century.

It was a case of conflict between an Act of Parliament and a great economic law or principle, and the economic law triumphed over the clumsy contrivance of interested opponents, for the parliament was in the main a parliament of landowners. Prices had been rising in the years before the plague, and the old wages had been insufficient even then. Now that the supply of labour could not meet the demand, wages were sure to rise, for landlords evaded the Act and paid higher wages in order to get their work done. Men roamed the country as valiant (that is, strong or able-bodied) beggars, rather than work at the old rates. Many villeins escaped to the towns, where labour also was sorely needed, and gained their freedom by living there free from their overlord's molestation for a year and a day. Legislation was directed against labourers who broke their agreements, landlords who paid higher wages, towns that harboured runaways, and beggars who refused to work; but all in vain. It

was impossible to restore matters to their former condition. Everything was affected. The clergy had suffered heavily as the price of their devotion in the time of plague, and the new rectors and vicars were inferior in education and moral calibre to their predecessors. The standard of morality in the country was lowered. Education, art, and architecture all suffered a decline. A great social change was taking place which had been accelerated by this great pestilence, and new economic conditions had to be evolved to meet it.

The landlord found himself in many cases with an increased estate, and there set in a tendency towards the concentration of great quantities of lands in the hands of fewer landowners. But great quantities of land were useless without labour and money, if the owners were to continue farming for themselves through their stewards and bailiffs ; and as the required labour could not be obtained, many owners ceased to farm their lands themselves, and adopted one of two methods instead. One of these was to let their lands on lease to tenants who became responsible for the supply of labour, and left the landlord with an assured yearly income in the shape of rent. Many of the freeholders and free labourers were glad to accept this offer. They and their families could provide the necessary labour, the landlord provided land and stock and seed corn. Hence there developed a stock and land lease system very much like our modern

Results  
of the  
plague.

New forms  
of land  
tenure :  
(a) Stock and  
land lease ;

tenant farming, except that the tenant now finds the stock, and as the old stock died off and had to be replaced this also happened here in many cases. The rents paid were very low, for there was plenty of land to be had, but these rents were no longer quit rents, or rents paid in quittance of services to be rendered, but economic rents, based upon the commercial value of the holdings. The holdings were small, being generally within the capacity of a single family, working very hard, to manage ; and the method of farming was still the open-field system. These farmers and the smaller freeholders constituted an important class of Englishmen, who proved to be the backbone of England in peace and in war for many years to come.

The other method was to convert large areas of land into sheep runs, and farm for wool. Such  
(b) sheep a method dispensed with all labourers,  
farms. except a few shepherds, and was highly profitable, for English wool was in great demand abroad. Much had been done to improve the English breed of sheep. The Cistercian monks had paid great attention to sheep farming, and, owing to their intercourse with the Continent, had been able to effect considerable improvements in sheep breeding and sheep rearing. As the woollen trade developed, this sheep farming became increasingly profitable and popular, and reached its zenith in the days of the early Tudor kings.

The person who suffered most from these changes was the villein. The general commutation of services had been turning him into a "copyholder," that is, a man who possessed land, homestead, and

grazing rights which were entered as his upon the manorial court rolls, land to which his children The plight of would succeed, and for which he was the villeins. paying a definite quit rent in lieu of services. But many of the villeins were still performing these services of week-work and boon-work which had become so valuable now that labour was scarce ; in fact, these services were now so precious that the manorial lawyers were engaged in finding means to compel many who had really commuted them to go back to the older condition of things. Ever since the Conquest there had been a tendency for the Norman lawyer to depress the legal status of the villein, and now legal technicalities were allowed full scope, only written evidence of commutation was accepted in the manorial courts, and, wherever possible, exemptions were cancelled and labour services restored.

Another serious outbreak of plague in 1361, and less serious recurrences in 1368, 1369, and 1370 Oppressive made matters worse. The glories of taxation. Crécy and Poitiers were totally eclipsed by misgovernment at home, and the people were burdened by the cost of the war. Oppressive taxation followed. Poll taxes, graduated taxes which every person over fifteen had to pay, but which pressed more heavily on the poor than on the rich, were levied in 1377, 1379, and 1380. These charges brought under contribution many who had formerly escaped direct taxation. They were not made any more acceptable by the methods of collection, and much discontent ensued. It was a time of revolution ; change was in the air,

the older condition of society was passing away. The preaching of Wyclif and his "poor preachers" seemed to many an attack upon the existing orders of society. The Statutes of Labourers Discontent. seemed to be directed against the poor in the interests of the rich. The army in France was suffering defeat, and two fleets were destroyed, one by the Spaniards, the other by a storm. Pirates plundered the coast towns. The corruption of the Court lost it many supporters. New ideas of social equality were spread throughout the country districts by wandering priests and friars like John Ball, the priest of Kent, who preached to the people from the text :

"When Adam dalf and Eve span,  
Who was then the gentleman?"

Many popular rhymed messages were passed along the countryside in the name of Hob the Miller, Jack the Carter, John Trueman, and others. These called the people's attention to the ills of the time, and incited them to revolt.

Villeins, country freeholders, and townsmen banded themselves together for the redress of their wrongs. Their well-managed organisations spread throughout south-eastern England. The poll tax of 1380 gave very bad returns, and commissioners were sent through the country in the following year to find the reason and obtain a better yield. Their rough methods proved to be the last straw, and rebellion broke out in Kent, where a tax

The  
Peasants'  
Revolt,  
1381;

collector was killed by an artisan for an outrage on his daughter. The country was soon in revolt from York to the English Channel, and from Kent to Devon. Various classes joined in the rebellion from different motives. The wrongs of the villeins cannot explain the rising in Kent, for villeinage was unknown there. Priests and friars, burgesses, freeholders, copyholders, and farm labourers were to be found in the ranks of the rebels. The demands most generally made were for the abolition of vexatious tolls and dues, the exemption of lands from personal services, and the abolition of serfdom. "We will that you free us for ever, us and our lands; and that we be never named nor held as serfs," the insurgents demanded of the king when he met them at Mile-end.

We cannot follow the course of the struggle in any detail here. There were local risings in its progress; many parts of the country; the townspeople of Cambridge attacked the members of the university; the tenants of the abbey of St. Albans broke into pieces the millstones of the abbey mill; the people of Bury St. Edmunds murdered the prior of the abbey there. The men of Kent and Essex marched on London to demand redress of grievances from the king, and to free him from the control of his evil counsellors. They burned and destroyed as they went, though they plundered but little, the destruction being everywhere aimed at such legal evidences of their serfdom as the manorial court rolls, and such symbols of it as the manorial mills at which they were compelled to grind their corn at their over-

lord's rate of charges. All lawyers who were seized were hung, and other hated oppressors were also put to death. The rebels entered London in triumph. For a time it seemed as if they would be successful, and the young king granted their demands as the price of their immediate dispersal.

When they had received their charters of freedom and pardon, the peasants felt that their object was attained and they began to disperse. But with their dispersal the nobles gathered courage. The peasants were everywhere attacked and defeated and their leaders executed. Many of them died heroically in the cause of freedom, but resistance was in vain. The king's charters of freedom were cancelled, and a parliament composed mainly of landowners refused to consent to any liberation of their serfs.

Hence the immediate result of the insurrection was failure, though it hastened the decay of a  
its result. land system which was becoming unsound economically, and would therefore have died out in the ordinary course of events. The whole development of agriculture was making servile labour of but little value as compared with the work of the tenant farmers and free labourers, and commutations were therefore frequent throughout the fifteenth century. The manorial courts began to fall into decay, and the older obligations of the manorial system were freely disregarded. Thus serfdom decayed in fact if not in law, and the villeins became copyholders and a part of the large number of small holders who were farming



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the land of the country. Serfs did not cease to exist on the royal manors until the reign of Elizabeth, and a case involving the question of serfdom was pleaded in the law courts in 1618, but serfdom had greatly decayed in fact long before this time.

## CHAPTER XII.

### TRADE DEVELOPMENTS AND THEIR CONSEQUENCES.

THE changes that were taking place in England in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were not

The work of the Edwardian kings, 1272-1377. confined to agriculture; changes in trade and commerce were also having their effect upon the towns and town life. Edward I. and Edward III. had both striven to break down the ex-

clusive privileges and narrow spirit of the corporate towns, and to reorganise commerce upon national lines. The first Edward's reorganisation of the system of taxation, his improvements in legal administration, and his restriction of the rights of the clergy and baronage, all helped to foster a national spirit. Legislation was directed towards a national trade under centralised parliamentary control; assizes of ale, wine, bread, cloth, and weights and measures helped to replace local by national standards of price, weight, length, and quality. Parliament began to take the place of the guilds in the supervision of trade. The Statute of Labourers, 1351, and its frequent revisions were national attempts to fix wages. Under Edward I., an officer, known as an aulnager (Norman-French,

*aulne*, an ell), was appointed to see to the carrying out of the regulations of the assize of cloth. Efforts were made to secure uniformity of width and length in the cloth produced, and to prevent inferior quality and bad workmanship; in 1463 the wardens of the craft gilds got national recognition that they might help in this connection. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries industries were subjected more and more to legislative interference, and attempts were made to encourage them by restricting the importation of manufactured articles.

Under the third Edward commercial policy assumed an international aspect. Wars were entered into to preserve our trading  
 Beginnings of international trade. associations with Flanders and Guienne; shipping became of greater importance and the control of the sea essential.

England must now be "mistress of the narrow seas" in the interests of her continental trade. From the time of Richard II. attempts were made to foster native shipping by means of Navigation  
 First Navigation Act, 1381. Acts, which prohibited the carrying of merchandise in or out of England except in English ships or in the ships of the nation to whom the goods belonged.

Edward III. also fostered trade by encouraging skilled alien workers to come to England under  
 Alien workers and alien merchants. promise of royal protection. Many Flemings settled in the eastern counties to the great benefit of the woollen industry there; others settled in Yorkshire and Westmoreland. The king also

attempted to give greater facilities to merchants to enter the country from abroad. Much of the carrying trade was still in the hands of continental merchants who came to trade at English markets and fairs. Edward I. granted freedom of trade and safe conduct to these merchants by the *Carta Mercatoria*, *Carta Mercatoria* of 1303, which mentions Germany, France, Spain, Portugal, Navarre, Lombardy, Tuscany, Provence, Aquitaine, Toulouse, Flanders, and Brabant as some of the places from which the merchants came. But the efforts of the Edwards were rarely successful. The townspeople were so jealous of outsiders that they restricted the privilege of selling, granted to aliens, to a period of forty days, and made them reside during that period with a member of the gild, who became their "host" and watched over all their transactions. In 1439 it was enacted that no foreign merchant should sell directly to another on pain of forfeiture of the goods sold. Under Richard II. these merchants were expected to spend half the money they had obtained in a town before they left it; in 1401 this was raised for a time into all the money gained, except that spent on necessary expenses.

There were many difficulties in the way of trade : dangers of losses by land and by sea ; difficulties of transport ; municipal restrictions ; difficulties. and coinage troubles. English merchants suffered considerably from the weak administration of Richard II. Piracy was rampant in the Channel, the south and east coasts were plundered, and trade was impossible unless mer-

chant ships sailed in fleets for common protection. Private enterprise sometimes atoned for national neglect ; in 1378 a London citizen and former mayor, Sir John Philpot, fitted and sent out a fleet which captured a pirate who had robbed him, and recovered his ships and goods. The question of the coinage was a very serious one. It had always been difficult to ensure its distribution throughout the country, though this had been compensated for by allowing local mints in different parts of England. What was more serious was that, with the increasing export of wool, much foreign money of inferior weight and quality was coming into the country, and was driving English money, always of good standard and weight, abroad. Edward III. tried to check this by introducing a gold coinage alongside the silver one, but not very successfully ; he also lessened the weight of both gold and silver coins, without tampering with their fineness, that is, with the percentage of precious metal they contained. This was probably done to bring them nearer in value to the corresponding foreign coins and so prevent the exporting of English coins, but much dissatisfaction was felt, and the increased prices which followed from the lessened value of the coins was one of the causes of the rise in wages of the years preceding the Black Death. The great variety of the coins in circulation made exchanging into English money an important and by no means easy business, which was mainly in the hands of the goldsmiths.

In spite of all these drawbacks trade increased

and English industries developed. All the trade was carefully regulated and protected ; the chief

Trading exports had to pass through the recognised methods. Staple towns ; and most of the export trade was the monopoly of the Merchants of the Staple. This was in the interests of king and merchants alike. The developing trade required careful fostering. It needed to be safe rather than ambitious. It was to the interest of the merchants that it should develop slowly, surely, and safely. At the same time the king gained by ensuring the collection of that part of his revenue which depended upon duties paid upon articles of export and import.

The imports included French wines and fruits ; Flemish fine woollen cloth, linens, cambrics, tapestries, armour and weapons ; Imports and exports. Baltic hemp, flax, timber, fur, and fish ; and once a year the galleys of Venice brought the silks, cottons, perfumes, dyes, pearls, precious stones, and spices of the East. Export trade was chiefly in the staple goods, wool and wool fells, leather, and the tin and lead of which England had practically a monopoly at this time.

But although exports were thus mainly raw materials, manufactures were developing within the country. England was now producing the best wool in Europe. Even England's manufactures; cloth, though the Flemings were able to get quantities of wool from Spain, they found it necessary to mix English wool with it to make good cloth. The policy of fostering the immigrant



artisan helped in the wider production of English cloth ; and the customs returns show a constantly increasing export of cloth and a continually decreasing export of wool. At first much cloth had to be exported in a partly finished condition to have the final processes such as fulling, or cleaning the cloth, performed abroad ; but less cloth is thus exported as time goes on, and better kinds are made at home. Lincoln and Stamford were already noted for their scarlet cloths, and Norfolk for its worsteds, at a time when the greater part of the country was producing coarse cloths known as burel, friezes, blanket cloth, and the like. By the fourteenth century the cloth trade had spread throughout East Anglia ; London was an important centre of the industry ; much cloth was made in the north at Kendal, and in the west country at Salisbury, Newbury, Bristol, Gloucester, and elsewhere.

English workers were everywhere renowned for their skill in metal-work, and the religious houses, cathedrals, and churches proved good metal-work, customers to them. In 1500 there were fifty-two goldsmiths' shops in the Strand in London, and gold and silver plate was common in the houses of the merchants. England, too, was famous as a country of bells, which were cast in many different places ; and in the fifteenth century cannon were produced at London and Bristol ; in the sixteenth century this industry shifted to the Weald of Sussex and Kent. The coal measures were being worked at the beginning of the thirteenth century ; before the century closed there seem

to have been some mining operations on each of our present coalfields. By 1400 the sea-borne mining coal trade of Tyneside was assuming and considerable dimensions, the coal smelting. being sent especially to London and the Netherlands. Iron, too, was being worked throughout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in the Forest of Dean; after the middle of the fourteenth century the position of the Wealden furnaces with respect to London gave them a great advantage in this industry. By this time, however, there was iron smelting in many of the wooded parts of England, charcoal being the fuel employed. Lead was mined in Cumberland, Derbyshire, and the Mendips; Cornwall was engaged in mining and exporting tin.

Continued attempts were made to direct and develop trade by legislative interference, but parliament had still to contend with Exclusive policy of the gilds. gild exclusiveness. The more a gild prospered, the more exclusive it became. The wealthiest members formed an aristocracy within the gild; an inner circle directing the gild policy in their own interests. They were no longer craftsmen who were themselves workers; and they used their influence against the ordinary craft master. By fixing the hours of gild meetings at inconvenient times, by making the wearing of a costly livery essential at all gild meetings, and in other ways, they ensured the absence of their less fortunate brethren from the meetings, and then made rules which curtailed their rights and privileges within the gild. There

soon developed a distinction between those who were "of the livery" and those who were not; and it was those who had the right to wear the livery who governed the gild. Outsiders were prevented from entering by means of heavy fees, measures were taken to restrict apprenticeship to the sons of gild members or those of their wealthy neighbours. A long apprenticeship, generally of seven years, was made compulsory, and the number of apprentices was restricted in the interests of monopoly.

The old hope of the journeyman that he would become a master began to fade. Not only were

entrance fees purposely kept high, but <sup>Rise of a permanent working-class.</sup> a masterpiece, which had to be a piece of work involving much time, labour, and expense, was also demanded as a proof of ability from those who entered a gild. A permanent working-class began to come into existence, and we now hear much of servants, yeomen, or valets, who are forming fraternities or brotherhoods of their own, and against whom the masters are directing their gild regulations and invoking the interference of town corporation and national parliament.

The increased circulation of money led to the replacement of the older customary prices by

<sup>Increased use of money:</sup> newer competitive ones. Where money is in use there is a tendency to use it as a standard of value (we speak of a horse as worth £60, a house as worth £800, and so on), and this makes bargaining and the cutting of prices easily possible. It also tends

to make money valued for its own sake and for the social distinction it confers, and this leads to the amassing of money and to its investment in its effect different ways. Hence people began on trade. now to buy products to sell again, and, whereas the early craftsmen had worked generally for known customers and to supply a known demand, the new traders began to buy in anticipation of a possible future demand, and to move the goods they had bought to different centres of demand.

This led to two very important results. First we get the "clothiers," men who buy wool, hand Rise of the it out to workpeople to spin and weave clothiers. into cloth at home, and then sell the finished product. This is a definite movement from gild industry to domestic industry. The difference between it and our modern factory system is that the workers work in their own homes. All the risks are taken by the clothier, who is a capitalist in the modern sense of the term. In 1340, Thomas Blanket of Bristol set up machines there for the making of cloth and introduced workmen to work them. Soon there were many clothiers, and they were helped by a migration of many of the craftsmen from the corporate towns. The exclusiveness of the guilds was working their own ruin. Workers left the towns and settled in villages which had no gild restrictions, and the Non-corporate corporate towns began to decay. The government tried to check this, but towns. in vain. Dorset, Worcestershire, and Yorkshire were among the counties that benefited ;

such towns as Manchester, Bolton, Bury, Leeds, and Halifax developed in this way. In the second half of the fifteenth century great clothiers like John Winchcombe, or Jack of Newbury as he is often called, crushed the small independent cloth workers and reduced them to a position of dependence. This John Winchcombe was descended from a rich London draper. He was apprenticed to a clothier at Newbury, and became one of the pioneers of the cloth trade. He is said to have kept five hundred men at work in the production of kerseys, a coarse, ribbed, woollen cloth. He certainly acquired great wealth in the trade.

The second development was that of the modern merchant, who is a dealer only and not a craftsman. He differed from the clothier in that he was not at all concerned in the making of the article, but only in its sale. At first these merchants were mainly engaged in the sale of articles which could not be produced in England, such as the silks and spices of the East, and they were combined in true mediæval fashion into companies. Thus we get the Drapers' Company, the Mercers', and the Grocers' in the fourteenth century, and finally such companies as the Merchant Taylors', for the tailors, who had been among the most prosperous of the mediæval artisans, began in the fourteenth century to encroach on the business of the drapers by sharing in the wholesale trade. In like manner the finishers of cloth, such as the fullers or cleaners, and the shearmen, who cut off the surface irregu-

larities to produce a smooth nap, put capital into their businesses, bought the unfinished cloth outright from the weavers, and sold it again after they had finished it. This introduction of capital into industry also resulted in an increased division of labour and in the introduction of machinery such as fulling mills to replace manual labour.

Englishmen also went abroad for trading purposes and formed trading centres on the Continent, on the lines of the Steelyard in London. They elected their own governor to control their affairs, settle their disputes, and help them to get justice in their troubles with the foreigner.

English  
trading  
centres  
on the  
Continent.

The first of these settlements were in the Hanse towns, but they soon extended to the towns of the Netherlands and elsewhere. Trade passed from Flemish and Italian into English hands; we read of merchants such as Canynge of Bristol and Taverner of Hull who invest large sums of money in trading ventures. They are able to lend large sums of money to the king, and even to entertain him nobly on occasion. Lending to the kings had been the work of the Jews until their expulsion from the kingdom in 1290, when their place was taken by Lombards, Florentines, and other Italians, who lent to the king on the security of the revenue and the Crown estates. But Edward III. ruined the great Florentine banking house of the Bardi by suspending his promised repayment in 1345, and from that time the business was mainly in English hands.

These changes naturally reacted on social life. Some writers have looked upon the fifteenth century as a period of great advancement, others as a period of decadence and distress. There is probably truth in both these estimates. To the areas engaged in the developing industries it was a period of prosperity, to some of the corporate towns it was a period of incipient decay. The cost of the French wars pressed heavily, and the Wars of the Roses injured many towns. There are many instances of towns that find it impossible to keep up their usual payments of taxes, and seek and obtain considerable remissions. Town houses underwent great improvements, though their general shape changed but little. The hall still remained the most important room of the house, but other rooms increased in importance, and the solar now became a withdrawing room. Bedrooms, too, increased in number, though not necessarily in size and convenience, being often placed at the top of the house, just under the roof. Rich bed hangings, linen sheets and bolsters, counterpanes, and night-dresses were introduced. Fireplaces became usual. Carpets were used in the private rooms, and some of the floors of the halls were now tiled. Tapestries and cloth of Arras covered the walls. Cupboards were in general use, a sign of an increasing number of valuable articles of domestic use, such as glass, earthenware, and silver plate. The old trestle table gave place to the table dormant. Benches and seats generally were provided with backs.

All this applies, of course, to the houses of the rich in town and country. There is not the same improvement in the houses of the poor, and the narrow alleys, sunless or nearly so from the projecting upper stories of the houses, remained to the end of the century and later.

Much greater care was now given to the appearance of the town. The principal streets of the larger towns were paved, and sewers were built. It was a remarkable era of church restoration and rebuilding; the gild halls became important and imposing architectural features, and some of the houses of the merchant princes vied with those of the nobility. A merchant like Canynge or Whittington could entertain the king as easily and as royally as any nobleman could.

The number of meals was increased to four; a substantial breakfast at seven o'clock, supper at four, and, among the rich, a "collation" in bed between eight and nine. The food too became somewhat daintier, and with the increased use of plate and earthenware was better served. The common people still had their meat, coarse bread, and ale in three meals a day, at eight, twelve, and six o'clock respectively.

Dress partook of the general extravagance, and sumptuary laws were frequently necessary, especially as the poor imitated the rich. Women delighted in gowns with long and wide sleeves, and in most elaborate and fantastic head-dresses, which were successively horn-shaped and heart-shaped, and finally took the form of a



steeple or sugar-loaf, draped with a linen or silk kerchief. Boots were worn broad at the toe, a sumptuary law finally limiting the breadth to six inches. The men wore their hair in large, thick side locks, and covered their heads with a turban or hood called a roundlet, to which was attached a long tippet (or liripipe) which hung down over the shoulder, or was wound round the head in turban fashion.

There was little change in the sports and amusements of the people. Pageants were extremely popular, and card games were introduced, but the tastes of the people do not seem to have become more refined, nor should we expect this when we remember that the fifteenth century was the period of the Wars of the Roses.

## CHAPTER XIII.

### THE MEDIÆVAL SCHOOL AND UNIVERSITY.

UP to the present we have been dealing mainly with the work and play of the men and women of the Middle Ages. We must, however, bear in mind that men like Thomas Becket, Chaucer, Wyclif, and Whittington went to school as a preparation for their work in life ; it is, therefore, necessary that we should know something of their schools and universities. Their schools were very different from ours. In the first place they were all closely associated with the Church, and the teachers were, in practically all cases, men in holy orders. Further, the methods of teaching and the subjects taught were very different from those of to-day, and there were also many different kinds of schools, though all of them may be divided into two main classes according as their work is elementary work, or studies of a more advanced type.

In the former class of schools the pupils learned writing and reading, but not very much more.

The most elementary of them were simply A B C schools, in which very little was taught, but there were also Reading and Writing Schools where these

subjects could be learned. More important still were the Song Schools or Music Schools attached to the cathedrals. The boys who helped in the services were taught in these. The work of the boys was chiefly that of learning by heart the church services and the music associated with them, but they were also taught reading and writing, and sometimes Latin. By schools such as these, education was made possible even in the remote villages, and boys of real promise could proceed from them to the grammar schools, and thence to the university. "Not only in the busy centres of commerce," writes Mrs. Green, "but in the obscure villages, the children of the later Middle Ages were gathered into schools. Apparently reading and writing were everywhere common among the people."

The more advanced schools were of the grammar school type. In them the all-important subject of study was Latin. Any preparation for the university, or for the ranks of the clergy, or for an important post in administration, involved a knowledge of that language; even the accounts of the manorial stewards and bailiffs of the thirteenth century were kept in Latin. The usual curriculum was the threefold course of grammar, logic, and rhetoric, often spoken of as the *trivium*. The grammar was Latin grammar taught to enable a boy to read, write, and converse readily in that language. At the university he would find Latin the only language in use for all purposes, hence the need of establishing

Schools of  
advanced  
type:  
grammar  
schools,

a good groundwork in it at school. Before he left school he would probably have read a number of Latin works. These he translated into English or, after the Norman Conquest, into Norman-French. After 1385, however, English once more became the language to be used.

Logic, or, as it was more commonly termed, dialectic, served as a training in the art of reasoning. To be able to reason correctly was looked upon as a very important part of education, and in close association with it went a training in rhetoric or the art of public speaking and debating. The scholars of the London grammar schools met yearly in the churchyard of St. Bartholomew's, Smithfield, and there engaged in a public disputation for which prizes were awarded. These disputations seem to have been a feature of festivals and holidays.

Books were few and precious. The boys made their own grammars and dictionaries as the lessons proceeded, and in some cases the teacher possessed the only complete copy of the Latin text in use. Much of the work was done orally, and great stress was laid upon memory work. The discipline was rigorous and indeed brutal. Corporal punishment was the common remedy for all offences, and there was no improvement as time went on. The schoolmaster is always represented with birch or rod.

Of these English schools the earliest were intended to provide education chiefly for those who were going to be priests. Schools for this purpose were founded in each bishopric, and similar ones

were established in the monasteries for teaching the novices who were entering monastic life. These

cathedral and monastic schools. two kinds of schools are spoken of as cathedral schools and monastic schools, respectively. In the dark ages which followed the overthrow of the Roman

Empire it was these schools alone that kept alight the lamp of learning, and it is interesting to know that the most famous of them during that period were to be found in England and Ireland. There was certainly a school at Canterbury by the year 630, and this was followed by others at Dunwich, Westminster, and York, and in the next century by schools at Lichfield, Hexham, and elsewhere. Through the zeal of Benedict Biscop, the first abbot of Jarrow, that monastery possessed an important school. Biscop's greatest pupil was Bede, who became one of the most famous scholars of the eighth century. A close friend of Bede named Egbert founded the cathedral school at York after he became archbishop there in 732, and under Egbert's guidance and inspiration the school at York became a remarkable centre of learning and the possessor of a famous library. When Charlemagne wished to revive in his dominion the learning of former times, he took Alcuin, a pupil and teacher of this school, to be his teacher and adviser.

Unfortunately for England the glories of the Northumbrian schools were terminated by the Danish invasions, and their libraries were scattered. Alfred the Great had to reorganise education in his kingdom, and did so by instituting

monastic and cathedral schools, and palace schools for the education of the children of the nobility. By the beginning of the eleventh century there were important schools at Waltham and Warwick. York was refounded in 1075. Bedford was established before 1120, and in the reign of Henry III. there were grammar schools in London associated with St. Paul's Cathedral, Holy Trinity Priory and the church of St. Martin-le-Grand.

At first the monastic schools were undoubtedly a very important source of education, but this has led modern writers to over-emphasise their value. Mr. Leach, to whom we are greatly indebted for our knowledge of these earlier schools, has established the fact that as time went on the monastic schools devoted themselves almost entirely to the work of training the *oblats* or children dedicated from childhood to the service of the Church, and the novices who commenced their monastic training at about the age of ten years. Their vocation demanded an education which should at least enable them to read the services of the Church and the rules of the Order. The school was the north-west corner of the cloister where they were under the control of the master of the novices, a grave old monk. They learned by heart the various offices and the psalter, were taught how to chant, and were carefully instructed in the rules of their Order and the manners and customs of the monastery to which they belonged.

It was the schools associated with the cathedrals and the collegiate churches that developed a system of education in which the children of the people could share ; though there was no compulsion, and the majority of the scholars were boys who intended to become clerics. These establishments supplied the needs of the people to a much greater extent than has been generally supposed ; in fact, there are complaints that facilities for education were being granted too readily to the sons of villeins and other poor men. Many of the schools which commenced in this way are still in existence as good public schools, second only in importance to the very best of the public schools.

Nor did these schools exhaust the possibilities of education. Their example helped in the formation of schools in connection with the parish schools. parish churches. The priest became the teacher in the school, the church, church porch, or church house was the meeting-place of the scholars, and the boys were taught upon the same lines as those of the cathedral schools. The necessity of finding choristers for the services of the lady chapels built during the fourteenth century led to the foundation of almonry schools. The first school of this type of which we have record was established at Canterbury in 1320. They were essentially charity schools. The boys were maintained and educated in the almonry and gave their services in return. Many boys received in this way a grammar school education who would not otherwise have got it.

Another very important type of school was the chantry school. The earliest of which we have information was founded about 1384, and during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries those who bequeathed chantries often made the teaching of a number of children a part of the duties of the office. Hence chantry schools became very numerous and important. Some of them were but small schools, but the largest contained as many as a hundred and sixty pupils.

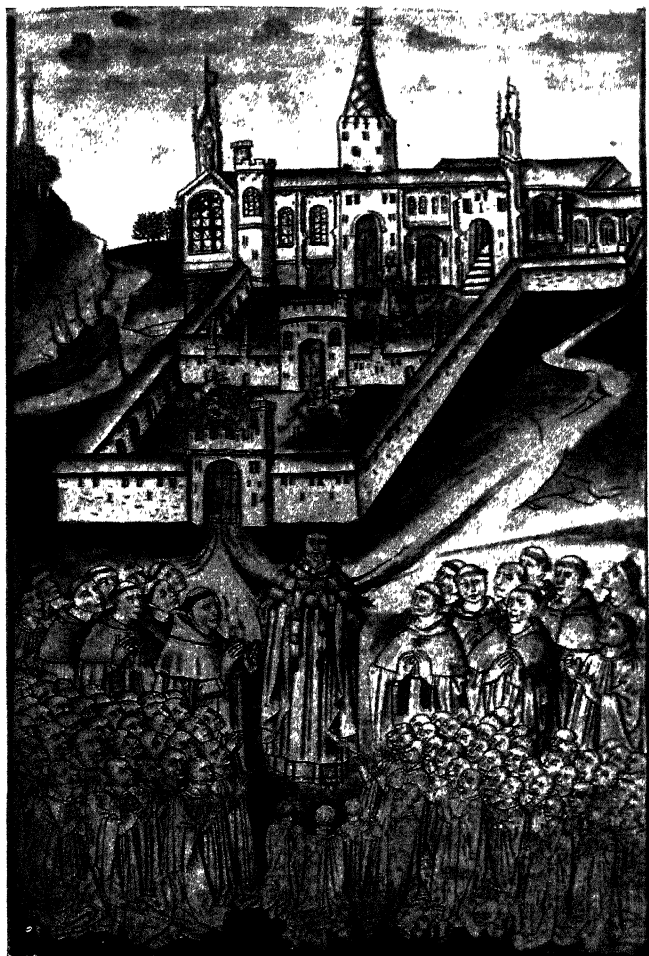
The developments of trade and the prosperity of the towns also led to further developments of education. The townspeople realised its value, and began to provide facilities for the education of the children of their own classes. Free grammar schools were founded in various parts of England by clergy and laymen who had prospered in the world without forgetting their origin and the town to which they belonged. Thomas Scott, Lord Chancellor of England and Archbishop of York, founded a college at Rotherham; a Lord Mayor of London left in his will the means of founding a school at Stockport; Manchester Grammar School originated in the will of a Manchester clothier, and was extended by a native of Oldham, who had become Bishop of Exeter. Some of the guilds and companies erected schools and kept them under their own control. This tendency to remove the schools as much as possible from ecclesiastical control is seen in the fact that merchants who founded schools began to put them under the control of their Company rather than under the control of the Church.



Towards the close of the fourteenth century, William of Wykeham established a college at Winchester, which became the type of future English public schools of the first class. It was based upon the existing grammar schools, but was associated with Wykeham's College at Oxford, and was definitely intended to prepare boys for the university. In 1441, Henry VI. founded Eton as a free grammar school, to provide for the education of twenty-five poor and needy scholars.

The facilities for the education of girls were not so widespread. Schools were attached to the nunneries, and were used by the novices and by the daughters of better class families, some of whom were received as boarders. The girls were taught the useful arts of spinning, sewing and embroidery, surgery and the preparation of physic, and the making of confectionery, as well as reading, writing, drawing, etc. Much attention was also paid to good manners and behaviour. These seem to have been practically the only schools for girls whether rich or poor; except that women hermits and anchoresses might teach a few young girls as a means of livelihood. There were also some mixed schools in which the younger boys and girls were taught together.

The boys of the grammar schools were able to continue their education in the universities. These institutions were the outcome of the increased desire for knowledge manifested in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. So great was this desire that numbers



A SCHOOL AND ITS TEACHERS AND SCHOLARS IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.  
A representation of Winchester College, c. 1460.



of students collected together at various places where there were special and famous teachers to be heard. Oxford was such a centre in the twelfth century, and Cambridge at the beginning of the thirteenth. With that desire for community of life and the protection of common interests which is so characteristic of the Middle Ages, these groups soon became corporate bodies endowed with special privileges granted by bishops, popes, and rulers. These privileges included direct protection, exemption from taxation, and the right to license masters and control lectures. It was also necessary to combine together for protection from grasping townspeople who were ever ready to trade upon the necessities of the students, and feeling between student and townsman often ran very high, as the "town and gown" riots of the fourteenth century show.

Such a collection of students formed a *studium generale*, a company of students with a course of studies open to the students of all lands. When a *studium generale* had become incorporated it became a *universitas magistrorum et scholarium*, a company of masters and scholars, the word *universitas* showing that it was a corporation or guild of persons who had united for some special purpose, in this case the pursuit of knowledge. In the Middle Ages any company of persons thus united, whether for trading, religious, educational, or other purposes, formed a *universitas*, though the term has now become restricted to signify an educational corporation only.

A boy could be admitted to the university at

the age of fourteen. He was placed under the care of a master who became responsible for him. Under this master he studied the subjects of the *trivium*. He then passed on to the subjects of the *quadrivium*, arithmetic, music, geometry,

Studies and astronomy, and then to the three  
in the philosophies, natural, moral, and philo-  
university. sophical. While he was reading the

set books and attending compulsory courses of lectures, opportunities were afforded him of debating and lecturing, and finally he had to prove his ability to dispute logically. This came with the preparation of a thesis, or essay upon some chosen subject, which he defended in public against all the members of the faculty or division of studies in which he was pursuing his course. If he proved successful, he obtained his degree. This was essentially a licence to teach ; by it he earned the right to teach anywhere without further examination. He was now a master in his special

University department of knowledge, and could  
degrees. take pupils and deliver public lectures and sit with the other members of his faculty at disputations, for every licensed teacher was a member of the ruling body. He might be called master or doctor or licentiate, but the great principle underlying his title was that he was a qualified teacher. In the fifteenth century there developed a minor degree, the baccalaureate, or bachelorship, which marked the passing of a preliminary stage in the course of the mastership, bachelor being a common term for any one not yet a master in his art or craft.

At first the masters or lecturers had to depend upon the fees obtained from the students. Exhibitions and scholarships. Many of these were very poor and spent their vacations in working to provide the means of returning to the university ; they even went about begging for the means. But there soon came a system of exhibitions and scholarships founded by the monastic houses and by private individuals, and sometimes wealthy scholars took needy students as their servants (sizars or servitors), and paid part of their charges in return for the services they rendered.

In the early days of university life the scholars had to make their own arrangements for lodgings. The first colleges. They soon began to live together in halls or hostels. From this there came the principle of living together in colleges, or buildings in which a number of men pursuing the same studies lived under a common discipline. The first college at Oxford was Merton ; at Cambridge, Peterhouse. These were both founded in the second half of the thirteenth century, when educational benefactions were very popular. Once established, the college system grew rapidly. The monastic orders and the friars, who were sending their best students to the universities, especially favoured it as being a great aid to discipline. There was plenty of hard living in the colleges ; bedrooms had to be shared by three or four students, the studies were without fireplaces, and their floors were of stone with rushes as the only covering.

The universities prospered and became the centres of all kinds of studies. The friars played an important part in their development, whether they were Dominicans eagerly pursuing theological knowledge wherewith to confute the heretic, or Franciscans, keen in researches into physical science and medicine, in their endeavour to lighten the sufferings of the poorer classes in the towns. Friar Bacon, one of our first English scientists, and probably the greatest natural philosopher of the Middle Ages, was a Franciscan and a member of the University of Oxford.

## CHAPTER XIV.

### OF THE MAKING OF BOOKS.

WE live in an age of so many books and newspapers, that it is hard for us to picture a time when books were very scarce indeed and were looked upon by their possessors as very great treasures. Yet it is less than four hundred and fifty years since the first book was printed in England. Before that time books had to be written by hand, and this labour of writing each copy afresh made the multiplication of books a slow and tedious process. It meant also that no writer could ever hope to sell more than a few copies of his work, and any one who was anxious to compose a long poem, or recount the history of his race, or tell some tale which would cost him much time and trouble in the writing, was compelled to attach himself to a king or noble or other rich person, who would act as his patron, and provide him with employment or with the necessities of life, while he was engaged in his task. Otherwise, he must be a monk, allowed to pursue this work in the monastic scriptorium, or a gentleman of estate and therefore independent of labour as a means of livelihood. Under such circumstances



it is no wonder that we have but few copies of the works of these men, and that some of the greatest treasures of our early literature have been preserved to us only in single, or, as we say, unique, copies.

But there was a time earlier than this when the makers of verse only recited their poems; a time before the days of written books. before the days of written literature at all. The best of these compositions were preserved in the memories of the reciter and his audience, who retold them again and again, and so ensured their being handed down from generation to generation, each generation in retelling, adding something to the tale and so accommodating it to the changing spirit of the age. The early English were very fond of story-telling. In the hall after supper they retold in verse, to the accompaniment of the harp, the tales of their own and their ancestors' fights and struggles. The harp was passed from man to man, and each person was expected to contribute his share. In addition there was the *scōp*, a professional tale-teller, the earliest of English poets, who was generally attached to the court of some chief. He was well skilled in his work, and was often richly rewarded for his tale by the lord whose praises he sang. Other gleemen, too, wandered from court to court, always welcome wherever they went, and generally receiving gifts for their services.

Some of the songs of the *scōpas* and gleemen still remain to us. One of the oldest, and certainly the most important of these, tells of the life and

work of a continental hero named Beowulf, who freed Hrothgar, a king of the Jutes, from the ravages of a monster called Grendel; and after becoming the king of his people, gave up his life in saving them from the terrible attacks of a fire-breathing dragon which was laying waste their country. The poem was probably brought from the Continent by some of the Germanic invaders of Britain; it was always in request at their feasts. Finally in the ninth century, after acquiring something of an English setting and a Christianised form, it was written down by some unknown Englishman who thus preserved the poem for us, though the only existing manuscript is a tenth-century copy by some scribe of the kingdom of Wessex.

Still older than this is a poem generally called *Widsith*, in which a scōp recounts his journeys to various continental courts and the treatment he received at them, and a third is the lament of another scōp, named Deor, who has been supplanted by a more skilful gleeman, and so has lost the favour of his lord.

Very much of the oldest poetry actually composed in England is religious in character and subject-matter, and is associated with Caedmon, *c.* 680. the greatness of Northumbria in the eighth century. Some of it was the work of Caedmon, who lived in the seventh century as a servant of the monastery at Whitby in the days of the famous abbess Hilda. The historian, Bede, tells us that Caedmon used always to leave the

hall after supper when tales were being told, because he was unable to share in the tale-telling; and, on one occasion, after so doing, he was miraculously inspired in a dream to sing the story of the creation of the world. Finding that he could do this, he commenced a metrical version of certain portions of the Old and New Testaments, and thus became our earliest known English poet, though he may only have been a singer himself and not the writer of his productions. Many poems formerly thought to be Caedmon's work are now considered to be the work of other men, some of whom perhaps wrote under the influence of his inspiration. A greater poet than Caedmon and his associates Cynewulf, was Cynewulf, who lived in Northumbria in the second half of the eighth century. A large number of poems are attributed to him. They include a collection of riddles, some lives of saints, and descriptions of the birth and ascension of Christ and of the Day of Judgment.

All this early work is very different in form from later English poetry. It was intended for recitation rather than for reading, and its composers were careful that the accents in each verse (or line) should fall upon the important words. They were not concerned with the number of syllables in the line, but with the number and place of these accented words. Hence they employed alliteration, that is, the beginning of certain words with the same consonant or with a vowel, to mark the accented words; giving generally, but not

Character-  
istics of  
early  
English  
poetry.

always, two alliterative words to the first half of a line and one to the second half, while there was a distinct pause in the middle of the line. Here are two lines of early English poetry and their modern equivalent :

heah and halig	heofon-cund ȝrynes.
high and holy	heavenly Trinity.
forst fyrnum cald	symble fyr onðe gar.
frost with fire cold	like fire or spear.

Besides this poetry the early English wrote also in prose, though much of their prose work was in Latin. It was in Latin that Bede wrote his famous *Ecclesiastical History of England*; his work in English included a translation of the Gospel of St. John. Bede died in the year 673-735. 735, and his history was translated into English about a hundred and fifty years later by Alfred the Great, one of the most important prose writers of this period. Alfred worked hard as a translator to provide his people with useful works

of philosophy and history in their own tongue, to replace the literary treasures of Northumbria in great part destroyed by the Danes. He also probably inspired the record of the history of England which we term the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. This gives the tale of our race from the beginnings of our history to the death of Stephen, and is the first history of any Teutonic people written in their own language. One feature of this record is the

poetry it contains. Just as great events had led naturally to verse in the earlier days, so too in these times, when national feeling ran high, the writers changed to poetry or incorporated songs composed in honour of important events. Thus a poetic description of the Battle of Brunanburh is inserted, of which you will find a modernised version in the poems of Tennyson. Battles generally roused the poets to great attempts, and there is another splendid war-song not contained in the *Chronicle* which tells of a fierce attack of the Danes at Maldon in 994, and the heroic resistance of the English under their leader Byrhtnoth.

Except for the continuation of the *Chronicle*, native literature declined after the Norman Con-

quest. The new patrons of literature were the Normans, and the poets sang their victories, or told their stories and legends and those of the English

they had conquered, in Norman-French or in Latin. Yet, while the writers of Court and nobility were using these languages, the gleemen still wandered along the countryside, and kept up the tradition of English versification, though their work remained oral and so has been lost to us. Meanwhile the Norman Court quickly became interested in matters English, and in the reign of Henry I., chroniclers, including William of Malmesbury and Henry of Huntingdon, produced Latin histories of England for Court use, and Geoffrey of Monmouth, a bishop of St. Asaph, wrote a History of the Kings of Britain which collected

some of the tales of King Arthur, and other British historical and legendary heroes.

With the beginning of the thirteenth century, when the older English dialects were being slowly

English moulded into what was to become a  
again. national tongue, a simple priest of

Arley-on-Severn produced an English verse version of the story of the Britons, based upon the Norman-French version of a Court poet named Wace. This poet had introduced the story of the Round

Layamon's Table, and Layamon in his *Brut*, as  
*Brut*, his poem is called, added to and em-  
c. 1205. bellished the Arthurian tale, and made

of Arthur an English national hero. It is important to notice that the *Brut* is almost free from Norman-French words, and uses the old accented alliterative line. But the versification has greater freedom in its form than had been the usage earlier, and the presence of simple rhymes shows that a change is coming in the form of poetic composition. Other writers followed Layamon with rhymed chronicles of English history, lives of the saints, Biblical narratives, and even homilies or sermons. None of these are of much importance.

The poets of the Court were busily employed from the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries in

Metrical the production of metrical romances,  
romances. which narrated the adventures, real and fictitious, of famous heroes of chivalry of many races—Child Horn, Havelock the Dane, Bevis of Hampton, Guy of Warwick, Richard Cœur-de-Lion, Charlemagne and his Paladins,

Merlin, King Arthur and his knights, Sir Tristram, Sir Gawain, Sir Lancelot, Sir Galahad, and many others. Most of these tales are translations from the French, and none of them has been improved by the change, for our poets were not very successful in this branch of literature.

At the same time, the common people were developing their simple tales in a series of ballads, which give us a real insight into their minds and feelings, their love of the forest and the greensward, their fondness for hunting and hatred of the harsh forest laws. The golden age of English ballad writing was the fifteenth century, but many of the ballads of which it gives us the first extant examples were in existence in the preceding century, and there had probably been a succession of these poems from a much earlier time. The most popular sequence was that which told the adventures of *Robin Hood* and his merry men. At his best Robin embodies all that is finest in the character of the typical English yeoman, filled with manly courage and good humour, a lover of sport, a hater of tyranny and injustice, and the friend of all who are persecuted or are in distress. Other ballads give popular, though not always correct, versions of important historical events, such as the *Battle of Otterburn*, *Flodden Field*, and the *Battle of Pinkie*.

More important than any of the romances or ballads was a great outburst of literary activity associated with the victories of Edward III. A patriotic poet of the older gleeman type, named Laurence Minot, celebrated these victories in

verse which we should now call jingoistic. His work, however, is of little merit when compared with that of his contemporary, Geoffrey Chaucer, one of England's greatest narrative poets. Chaucer was a Londoner by birth, and served in the households of Edward III. and John of Gaunt, who was his patron. His work in the king's service took him to France and Italy, and he became well acquainted with the work of the best poets in both these countries, and borrowed freely from them and from classical sources for the material and form of his work. His greatest poem is the unfinished *Canterbury Tales*, a series of stories supposed to be told by that company of pilgrims to the shrine of St. Thomas at Canterbury, who have been described in Chapter VIII., their description being based on the account of them which Chaucer gives us in the Prologue of this work. The poet was fortunate in writing at a time when the language was young, fresh, and vigorous, and he brought to his task the varied experience and ripe judgment of a man of affairs, who knew the world well. The forms he employs are freed from the old English alliterative measure and are like our modern methods of versification, involving end rhymes and various stanza forms, and especially the heroic couplet, in which the description of the poor Parson, which follows, is written :

A good man was there of religion  
And was a poore Parson of a town ;  
But rich he was of holy thought and work :  
He was also a learned man, a clerk,



That Christés gospel trewely would preach,  
 And his parishioners devoutly teach.  
 Wide was his parish, and houses far asunder,  
 But he ne'er left it not for rain nor thunder,  
 In sickness or in mischief to visit  
 The furthest in his parish, much and lite (high and low),  
 Upon his feet, and in his hand his staff.  
 This noble example to his sheep he gave  
 That first he did and afterward he taught,  
 Out of the gospel he these wordés caught,  
 And this figure he added eek thereto,  
 That if gold rusté what shall iron do?  
 Well ought a priest example for to give  
 By his cleanness how that his sheep should live.

At the time Chaucer was writing his *Tales*, a poet of very different type was walking Cornhill William daily, and coming closely into contact Langland. with the poverty and distress of London, as he pursued his work of chantry priest; and this writer, William Langland, has left us a vision of another England than the gay, holiday-making, merry England of Chaucer's pilgrims. His *Vision concerning Piers the Plowman* shows us the want, and misery, and wrong-doing of the time, and calls Englishmen to repentance. As the poet is intensely insular in feeling, and the poem is in part a plea for a return to former English morals and modes of life, it is written in the older alliterative measure which Chaucer had discarded, and is the last important poem to use that form of verse.

Another poet of these times was John Gower, a knight of Kent. His books show us very clearly John Gower, the cosmopolitan nature of an age 1325-1408. when English gentlemen could write and converse with ease in three different languages,

How he þ' Enaunt Was mayen-marie  
 And low his loue flouris and fructifie

yoth his lyfe be queyut þe resemblance  
 Of him hay in me so fecch þ' hysse  
 þat to putte oþer men in remembrance  
 Of his þ'one þ' haue heere his þ'ness  
 So make to us ende in southeastnesse  
 þat þei þ' haue of him lest þ'ought Enynde  
 By his þ'erture may agayn him fende

**W**he þ' in þ' churche been  
 in þ' þ'ente on god & on his seyntes  
 in þe ymages þei be holden & seen  
 Were oft consyre of hem causid restyngnes  
 Of þ'oughtes gode Wylan a þ'ing deþeunt  
 Or curules if men take of to heere  
 Thoght of þe þ'ness it wil in

**W**it come holden oppryon and oþer  
 þat none ymages schuld þ' make be  
 þei errec foule & soon out of þe wey  
 Of treuth haue þei stant sensibiles  
 Þasse oþ' þ' noþ' blasse tennys  
 Oppor my maistres soule wey haue  
 for þe i þ' wey & crasse

**W**ore oþer þ'ing Wolde þ' fyne speke & tounse  
 Beere in his booke but othur is my dylness  
 for þ' al þ'oyse and curty is my þ'outh  
 þat al my knyt is queyut & þ' hysse  
 And heay þ'ir comend hysse



THE ONLY EXISTING PORTRAIT OF CHAUCER.

It is painted on one of the leaves of Hoccleve's *Regement of Princes*, and is now in the British Museum. The leaf is here reproduced and gives us an idea of a page of a mediæval manuscript book.



for his three greatest works were written, one in English, another in French, and the third in Latin. There are many other poems belonging to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, whose authors we do not know, beautiful songs which the people have not been willing to let die, ballads which may have been sung at the cross-roads, and satires attacking wrong-doing in high places. Amongst these are some poems of an unknown author which include a work of real beauty, in which the poet gives expression to his grief at the loss of a dear young daughter, who had been his spotless pearl. But in the next century, with troubles at home and abroad, there is no poetry comparable to the work of the authors we have been considering; the versifiers are industrious, but they are commonplace.

Nor can the prose of the fourteenth century be compared with its poetry. Chaucer himself is responsible for some of it, but the  
Fourteenth-century most important prose works are a  
prose. translation of the Bible by Wyclif and his associates, and a book of travels in the East which was formerly supposed to be the work of Sir John Mandeville, but has now been shown to be a very clever English translation of a French work. Historical writing continued in the monasteries, especially at St. Albans, where a series of writers continued their records of English history; and citizens of London and elsewhere now began to write *Chronicles of England*.

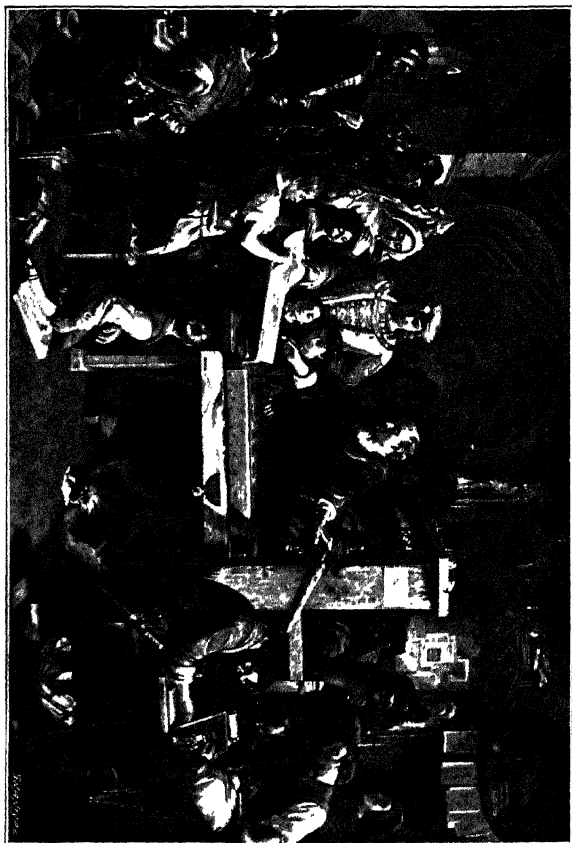
In the fifteenth century too was born William Caxton, always to be held in remembrance as the

first English printer. As a youth he was apprenticed to a London mercer, but after his master

William Caxton, 1422-1491. died he went to Bruges and ultimately became Governor of the English merchants there. His duties brought him into contact with Margaret, Duchess of Burgundy, a princess of the House of York and sister of Edward IV., and he commenced working for her as translator and copier of books. He found the task of copying a very tiring one and so became interested in the new method of printing books, which was then making rapid progress upon the Continent. He adopted this method, and printed a translation he had made of a French moral treatise entitled *The Game and Playe of*

1475. *Chesse*, the first printed book in the English language. He then came to Westminster and established himself as a printer of books in the abbey almonry, for, owing to the importance of the scriptorium, the precincts of the abbey had become the home of a number of copyists, and a centre of book production. It was also in close proximity to the royal palace of Westminster, and Caxton enjoyed the patronage of Edward IV. and Richard III. and of many members of their Courts. Caxton was at once translator, editor, printer and publisher, and among the books which he issued was a new translation of the romance of Arthur and his knights,

1485. the *Morte d'Arthur* of Sir Thomas Malory, which is one of the greatest books of English prose, and still remains our best source for reading the story of the life and death



EDWARD IV. AND HIS QUEEN AND FAMILY EXAMINING SOME OF CANTON'S PRINTING IN THE ALMONRY AT WESTMINSTER.



of King Arthur. Caxton died in 1491. His work was continued by another great printer named Wynken de Worde and by other printers, many copies of whose works we still have. One of the most important of these was a translation of the history of a fourteenth-century chronicler named

1523. Froissart, who was associated with the Court of Edward III. It gives us accounts of such well-known events as the Battle of Crécy, the Siege of Calais, and the Peasants' Revolt of 1381. This, again, is one of our English prose classics. Its translator was Lord Berners, who performed his task while Governor of Calais; its publisher was Richard Pynson.

The type in which these early books were printed was heavy black-letter type, very different from that in use to-day; the presses were clumsy, and the work comparatively slow. But many books of great beauty both in their printing and their binding were produced by these early printers, who could not possibly have realised the effect which the introduction of printing was destined to have upon the making of books.



## CHAPTER XV.

### HOW OUR FOREFATHERS WERE GOVERNED.

ONE of the most wonderful chapters in the history of the English nation is that which tells us of the

The growth and development of the English Constitution, that is, of the system of laws and regulations by means of which the government of our land is carried on. For our present Constitution is not the work of any one set of English people at some definite period in our history, as, for example, the French Constitution was established in 1875, or the Constitution of the United States after the Declaration of Independence in 1788. It is the outcome of centuries of effort on the part of some of England's noblest sons, for Englishmen have always been ready to struggle and fight for, and if need be to die in defence of, the liberties we enjoy.

One of the advantages of a slowly developing constitution such as ours, depending as much upon custom and precedent as upon its peculiar statute law, and not confined within character. the narrow limit of a written statute, is that it is capable of alteration and amendment to suit the changing circumstances of the times,

and these changes may be brought about by ordinary legislation, without the necessity or danger of revolution. Yet throughout the struggles that have taken place, the basis of the constitution has remained the same. The greatest efforts of our forefathers were not so much to change the constitution as to preserve its spirit inviolate. Their cry was always for a return to the old laws, at first to the laws of the good King Edward the Confessor, and afterwards to the clauses of the Great Charter obtained from John, and confirmed by his successors.

As the years have passed and the Empire has grown larger and larger, and the conditions [of life of society have become more complex, government has become more involved, and greater division of labour has been necessary in it, in order to secure good government.

The great weakness in the government of early England was the lack of centralised authority.

Government of early England. The kingdom had grown from the union of smaller kingdoms each with its own local control, and there was often better local government than national. The only legislative body was the Witenagemot or Council of wise men which met three times a year. This generally consisted of the archbishops, bishops, abbots, earls, chief landowners, officers of the king's household, and the aldermen who controlled the shires. None of these seem to have had any definite right to be present. Their presence depended on their being summoned by the king. Nor do they seem to have possessed the right of

initiating legislation, though their consent was necessary to it. Their work was to advise the king in legislation proposed by him, and we find them also sanctioning the imposition of taxes such as Danegeld. They possessed the important right of electing the king. Their power varied with the character of the king; strong kings took little notice of them, weak kings bowed to them.

In Norman times the place of the Witan was taken by the Magnum Concilium, or Great Council, which included the archbishops and bishops, the earls and greater barons. Its work was still mainly advisory, but Henry II. consulted it frequently, and so it grew in importance. The quarrel between John and his barons led to the growth of the Council's legislative power. Magna Carta gave directions for summoning the assembly, and ensured its meeting three times yearly. It also made the Council's consent necessary in matters of taxation. In the struggles of the barons with Henry III. to get him to enforce the great Charter, some of the smaller landowners were called to the Council as Knights of the Shire, and when De Montfort called together a parliament in 1265, the summons included not only barons, bishops, abbots, and two knights from each shire, but also two citizens or burgesses from each of twenty-one English cities or boroughs. There had been several occasions previously when knights from certain shires had been called, but the summoning of town representatives was a new step.

After this the cities and boroughs were generally though not always represented, an important occasion being the Parliament of 1275, Development of parliament. and in 1295 there met what has been well termed the Model Parliament, for in it there sat representatives of the three estates of clergy, lords, and commons, collected from both town and country. It was thus a model on which succeeding parliaments could be based, though the exact division of our present parliament into two houses did not come until forty years later. At first the various estates sat separately, and the knights of the shire, as landowners, sat with the barons. But after a time the knights of the shire, as being *elected* like the representatives of the towns, sat with them, apart from the barons, the separation being helped by the fact that the barons were summoned by special and separate writs ; while general writs were issued to the sheriffs empowering them to proceed to the election of knights and burgesses.

During the rest of the Middle Ages, parliament continued to assert its privileges and gained power wherever possible. The quarrels of Parliament and rival dynasties and the needs of spend-legislation. thrift monarchs were opportunities for it to do so. In such cases as the succession of Henry IV. and Henry VII., parliament was able to share in the election of a king as the Witan had done. In matters of legislation its power was for a long time confined to the right to petition the king in favour of new laws. These laws, as drafted by the Council after the dissolution of

parliament, were often found to be but little in accordance with the desires of the petitioners; and in 1414 the Commons petitioned that no alterations should be made in their wording, and the method of legislation by the introduction of Bills was established before the end of the Lancastrian period.

The right to which the parliament clung most tenaciously was the control of taxation. In the first instance the king's revenue came from his lands, and he was expected "to live of his own." But there were many other sources of revenue, such as the feudal dues and aids, fines for breaches of the law, and the royal right of *prise*, that is, of taking a share of all the imports and exports of the country. In the reign of Henry II. came also an attempt to bring the incomes and personal possessions of the people under contribution. This took the form of demanding a fractional part, one-fourth, one-tenth, one-fifteenth, one-thirtieth, etc., of the rents from land and the incomes from personal property. Exemptions were generally allowed to those whose goods fell below a certain minimum value. The first tax of this kind was the Saladin Tithe of 1118, levied to support the Crusaders. The usual charge was a tenth in the case of dwellers in corporate towns, and a fifteenth for other persons. But wherever there were indefinite charges of this kind, there was always an attempt to replace them by fixed definite amounts, and so from 1334 a tenth and fifteenth represented a charge of about £39,000, though parliament might vote two or more of such payments if it wished.

Parliament strove to make its consent necessary to all taxation. Magna Carta affirmed that all feudal aids other than the three customary ones of the king's ransom, the knighting of his eldest son, and the first marriage of his eldest daughter should be preceded by the consent of the feudal tenants-in-chief; the confirmation of the Charter in 1297 made the consent of parliament necessary to all other aids than these; in 1340 the king surrendered the right of imposing direct taxation; and in 1395 the taxes were declared to be granted "by the Commons with the advice and consent of the Lords." The customary duties or Customs levied by the king on the staple goods gave him a source of indirect taxation to which parliament was forced to agree. But here too the older custom of taking a portion of the goods in kind was changed for a fixed payment, and in 1362 an Act was passed which forbade any one to place any subsidy or charge on wool without the consent of parliament. This control of taxation placed a valuable weapon in the hands of parliament. By withholding its grants till the end of the session the members could hope to obtain redress of grievances first, and this became the usual practice.

But though parliament gained control over taxation, it was scarcely ever able at this time to gain control over the Executive, the body in whose hands was the administration of national affairs. At first there was little or no distinction between legislative and administrative work, but under

Norman  
methods of  
adminis-  
tration.

the centralised Norman government, there developed the use of personal advisers of the king as administrative officers. They included the officers of the household, such as the marshal and steward, and also a number of officials engaged in public work. These were naturally chosen from among the barons and clergy of the Great Council ; and from them came a series of officials responsible to the king for public administration. Of these the most important in Norman times was the *Justiciar*. He represented the king when the king was abroad, and he was head of all the legal business of the State. Ultimately he became the Lord Chief Justice of the realm, and his place as chief officer of the Executive was taken by the *Chancellor*, who had acted at first as the king's secretary. Another important official was the *Treasurer*, who became responsible for the collection and distribution of the revenue. With each of these there was associated a special staff of servants, and with the growth of their duties came a division of their work into various public departments, such as the Treasury and the Exchequer. Finally, the Executive became a permanent body appointed by the king, and associated with him in the government of the country. In the time of Henry VI. this body was spoken of as the Privy Council, and the King in Council possessed important powers of government by means of ordinances in council and proclamations, both of which came to have the force of laws. Parliament struggled hard to make these Ministers responsible to it for

The  
Privy  
Council.

their public acts rather than to the king alone, but beyond the fact that it was able to impeach some of the most unpopular Ministers and thus bring them to trial, it had gained but little real control of the Executive at the close of the Middle Ages.

Alongside the development of the Executive went also a development of the Judiciary. At first the

The judges. ordinary judicial courts were the meetings of the people in the local courts of the hundred and the shire, where the judges were freeholders often with personal knowledge of the litigants. Here a person could clear himself of his first offence by taking an oath of his innocence, if he could get twelve of his neighbours to act as compurgators, that is, to swear that they knew him and believed his denial. If not, he was put to the ordeal of fire or water. This consisted of

Trial by picking a stone from a bowl of boiling  
ordeal. water, or carrying a piece of hot iron a certain distance, or walking over heated iron bars, his innocence or guilt depending upon whether the wound was healed within a certain time or not. There were also other ordeals of a similar nature. Punishments usually took the form of fines, to be paid to those who had suffered. In early England there was an elaborate system of such fines, thus each man had his *wer-gild* or money value, payable to his relatives if he were killed, unless the crimes were such as exposed the wrong-doer to outlawry, or to the vengeance of the injured person's relatives.

Under the feudal system local justice was dispensed in the manorial courts. A system of



common responsibility, possibly dating from ante-Norman times, known as frankpledge, was connected with these local courts. By it the Frankpledge people were formed into groups of ten or twelve, and the members of each group became securities for the good behaviour of one another. They had to produce any one of their number if called upon by law to do so, and were liable to pay for his offences unless they could clear themselves of all complicity in the matter. With the Normans

Wager of battle. came also the wager of battle by which a man charged by a private person with any offence could plead not guilty and declare his readiness to prove his innocence by fighting his accuser. If the accuser accepted the challenge, a day was appointed for the combat, and the verdict was made to depend upon the issue of the fight.

Attempts were made to associate the king and Witan with this local administration of justice, and

National courts of justice. to obtain for the Crown a portion of the fines. This increased under the centralised Norman government, and a national judiciary, with a supreme court of justice, the King's Court or Curia Regis, was established. This court was attached to the king's person, met in the hall of his palace, and moved with him wherever he went; it was, in fact, his royal court. It was presided over by the Justiciar, it could hear appeals from inferior courts, and the local courts were bound by its decisions. Divisions of the Court followed. The Exchequer, the branch of the King's Court associated with financial matters, separated from it as a special

court for financial cases and matters of revenue ; the Court of King's Bench was formed by Henry II. to hear petitions of the people. Magna Carta provided that the Court of Common Pleas, which heard causes between party and party, as distinct from Crown and revenue cases, should be a fixed court at Westminster, where also the Court of Chancery became a court of appeals and of petitions in cases where the lower courts would not or could not do justice.

The greatest difficulty in the way of the administration of justice was the power of the sheriffs and of the manorial courts. This was weakened by Henry II., who appointed Itinerant judges. Justices in Eyre,<sup>1</sup> that is, itinerant judges to journey through the country and sit in the county courts to try both judicial and financial cases. He also attacked the rights of the clergy to a separate trial under ecclesiastical law. By the time of Henry II., too, trial by jury had become recognised and adopted. Many theories have been put forward to account for this custom, which has become an all-important English institution. The jurors acted at first as witnesses, and not as judges ; they were often used as sources of information, especially on financial matters, as in the Domesday inquest, but by slow degrees they became judges of fact, and not witnesses.

In the thirteenth century it became usual for the king to nominate certain Conservators of the Peace to assist in the maintenance of the Peace. the peace, and under Edward III. these became Justices of the Peace, who replaced the

<sup>1</sup> Eyre from Old French, *eire*, a journey ; Latin, *iter*.

shire-court by their sittings in quarter sessions, where they not only judged certain criminal and civil cases, but also acted as the local governing body for the county. Previously this work of local government had been largely in the hands of the court of the hundred, a subdivision of the shire, and the shire-moot or county court. The hundred-moot met monthly under the presidency of a representative of the sheriff and the hundred elder, and was at first a court possessing jurisdiction in civil, criminal, and ecclesiastical cases, with freeholders as judges; the most important meetings of the shire-moot were held half-yearly under the presidency of the sheriff, assisted by the alderman and bishop. Its functions included the administration of justice, the assessment of taxes, and ultimately the election of the county representatives to parliament.

## BOOK II.

### CHAPTER XVI.

#### NEW LANDS AND NEW POLICIES.

##### THE SPIRIT OF DARING AND ADVENTURE.

AT the close of the fifteenth century Europe passed from the mediæval to the modern world. For nearly two centuries there had been in progress in western Europe, and especially in Italy, a movement which was breaking down the main characteristics of mediævalism. This movement, which furnishes the link between the Middle Ages and the modern world, is generally spoken of as the Renaissance. For many centuries the people of western Europe had indulged in a dream of unity. Their religious life had been closely associated with the centralised government of the Papacy, with Rome as its capital and with all believers linked together as members of a united Christendom. Their religious teachers had emphasised asceticism at the expense of the

Features  
of  
mediæval  
life and  
thought.

beauty and the joy of life, had repressed investigation and research, and had stifled new ideas and new developments in the interests of their own dogmas. The ideal of temporal unity had led the Germans to indulge in vain hopes of European dominance under their Holy Roman Emperors, who had striven repeatedly to establish an overlordship in the affairs of Europe. Nations in the modern sense of the term did not exist, unless England may be looked upon as an exception. Feudalism had checked the natural tendencies of the various peoples to unite into nations ; only the most important commercial cities had been able to establish themselves as free towns or communes, and this often at the expense of the nation to which they belonged. The individual everywhere, in religious, political, and commercial life, was subordinated to the corporation, guild, or company of which he was a member.

Such were the general tendencies of life during the Middle Ages. But as early as the fourteenth century there was a reaction against them. It started in Italy, where the more intellectual Italians began to take an interest in the past history, literature, and art of their Roman forefathers. The feeling gathered strength as time went on. The Italian cities became centres of classical learning. Intercourse with Constantinople gave a knowledge of the works of the Greeks. It was not only that new authors

were discovered. Their works were also more truly interpreted, and the nature of their feelings and aspirations were more clearly understood. Readers of these works began to recognise the greatness of the states of which their authors had been citizens. They were introduced to societies older than Christendom, which had definite ideas of beauty, art, culture, morality, and philosophy different from, but not necessarily inferior to, the prevalent Christian ideas. Such revelations led to a great revival in thought and in letters, to a shaking off of many old ideas and the formulation of many new ones, to a Revival of Learning in which all western Europe shared.

This Renaissance led to new thoughts about life and the universe. National differences were emphasised, whereas before there had been a tendency to suppress, if not to ignore, them. The old idea of universal rule, whether of Empire or of Papacy, passed away before the new conception of the modern state, the compact and well-organised nation with its own particular interests knitting together all sections of its inhabitants. The rise of the nation gave to its mother tongue an importance it had never known before. Latin ceased to be the common language of learning, and each nation developed its own literature in its own tongue. The newly invented printing presses lent their aid in spreading the new ideas.

Hence feudalism passed slowly away. Many things were contributing to its decline. The

study of Roman law which had developed in the universities emphasised the importance of the decline of temporal ruler and the advantages to be derived from a strong and centralised feudalism; feudalism; lised system of government. The introduction of gunpowder and the use of missile weapons put an end to the supremacy of armoured knight and man-at-arms. Disputes in various countries destroyed many of the feudal barons; the Wars of the Roses thinned their ranks in England, the enmity of Burgundy and the Hundred Years' War acted similarly in France. Kings like Louis XI. of France and Edward IV. and Henry VII. of England, who strove to establish absolute authority over their subjects, thus found their task rendered much easier. They could also generally depend upon the support of the towns, for the townspeople had good reason to remember the feudal exactions and baronial plunderings from which they had suffered. Thus with the beginning of the modern world we find a new type of king, who is the absolute ruler of a state whose members are patriotically national, and eager to further their national interests in every possible way. Such kings are recognised as the symbols of national unity, the centres of national hopes and fears.

With these changes was also associated a recognition of the rights of the individual. The wider outlook on life gave to each citizen a keener sense of his own importance and a clearer idea of personal freedom. Each individual began to feel that he

was of real importance, that he was someone to be reckoned with, that he was more than merely a unit of a class or corporation. He was no longer willing blindly to receive opinions thrust upon him by others. He demanded the right to think and to judge for himself.

This led to great changes in the ecclesiastical world. The idea of a united Christendom was replaced by the desire for a national church. The claim of the individual to freedom of thought made him critical of existing beliefs and schemes of church government. The translation of the Bible into the vernacular tongues and the multiplication of copies of these translations by the printing press helped in this criticism. Men began to be their own interpreters of religious beliefs and opinions.

Once the barriers to freedom of thought were removed, there was also a great intellectual expansion, which showed itself in an increased zeal for education; creased zeal for education. In Italy this took the form of a demand for the complete mental, moral, and physical development of the individual; north of the Alps it was associated with a belief in the value of education as a means of curing the ills of the world by removing the ignorance and superstition in whose chains men were bound. New scientific methods and scientific discoveries; were introduced. Men no longer blindly adopted the opinions of previous scholars and the contents of earlier works as the grounds of their arguments. They resorted to a first-hand study of nature by means of observation and



experiment, and new discoveries in physical science changed men's conceptions of the nature of the universe.

From this came important geographical discoveries which undid the old ideas of the world by giving to geographical its people a *New World*, and placed Eng-  
discoveries land in the middle of the land hemisphere of the globe instead of upon its margin. The Turk had been pressing westward for many years. In 1358 he had obtained his first foothold in Europe; his successes culminated in 1453 in the capture of Constantinople. His occupation of Asia Minor and the Balkan peninsula made him master of the eastern Mediterranean, and his corsairs interfered sadly with the commerce of the Italian cities trading with the East. For centuries western Europe had been dependent upon the East for its supply of silks, muslins, calicoes, and gems, and above all for the spices which were so helpful when salted foods were used throughout the winter months. When the trade routes north and south of the Caspian, and the great seaport of Alexandria, passed under the control of the Turk, men had to seek other ways of reaching India, China, and the islands of the East. Early in the fifteenth century Prince Henry of Portugal saw the possibility of reaching the East by way of  
by the the south of Africa. Improvements  
Portuguese in shipbuilding and the use of the  
navigators; mariner's compass aided the navigators, and little by little the Portuguese pushed along the western coast of Africa until in 1485 Bartholomew Diaz rounded the Cape of Good

Hope, and in 1498 Vasco da Gama reached India.

Meanwhile the old Greek idea of reaching the East by sailing westward round the globe had been revived with the knowledge of the Greek works. An underestimate of the length of the earth's circumference made this method seem easier than it was,

Columbus; and Christopher Columbus, a Genoese seaman, determined to make the attempt.

He sought help first from the Portuguese and next from Spain. The rulers of Spain gave him assistance, and in August 1492 he set sail to the west, and after a journey of thirty-five days reached land which he thought to be Japan. His work was continued by other navigators, who discovered that there was a new unknown continent between Europe and the East. Any westward route to Asia would therefore have to be through or round this new continent, and explorers began to make attempts in these directions. In 1520 a Portuguese

and named Magellan, in the service of Magellan. Spain, entered the Pacific. Magellan himself was killed in a quarrel among the natives of the Philippine islands, but his successor, del Cano, succeeded in bringing one of the five ships of the expedition back to Europe by way of Africa. This was the first voyage round the world, and its geographical importance was very great, for it corrected the mistaken notions of the size of the earth, and showed that a large ocean lay between the New World and Asia.

England came late into the field of exploration. Thanks to her insular position and consequent isola-

tion, she had advanced farther than any other nation along the path of nationality and freedom. The

English system of land ownership introduced by exploration: William I. had spared her the worst excesses of feudalism. Her nobility had not kept themselves separate from the other estates of the realm, nor were they exempt from taxation. Some of her towns, and especially London, had made considerable progress and were sharing in the government of the country. Yet she too had known troubles, nor was she at this time recovered from them. It was not till the Wars of the Roses were

ended by the accession of Henry VII.,  
 her  
 seamen  
 late  
 in this  
 field of  
 enterprise. and the religious difficulties finally settled by Elizabeth, that Englishmen could turn their attention to the discoveries of the New World. Once her seamen entered into the quest,

however, they became famous navigators; the new spirit of daring and adventure gripped them and made them famous in the eyes of the world.

The change in the trade routes meant very much to the nations of the Atlantic seaboard. France,

England, and the Netherlands now occupied trading positions superior to those of the Mediterranean countries, and entered into competition with Spain and Portugal for the trade which was developing along the new sea routes. At first these countries tried to discover a north-eastern or north-western route which would enable them to journey to the Indies by way of the north of Asia or America. England was greatly interested in these routes, for the

colder countries to the north were likely to become good centres for her increasing woollen trade.

John Cabot, a Venetian living at Bristol, attempted the north-west passage in 1497 on

behalf of Henry VII., and landed in  
The north-east Newfoundland. In 1553 two English  
passage. ships under the command of Sir

Hugh Willoughby tried the north-east passage. Willoughby's ship was lost with all hands; his pilot, Richard Chancellor, succeeded in reaching Archangel with the other ship, and journeyed to Moscow. But Chancellor also was drowned on the return voyage, and the disasters associated with the quest seem to have deterred English adventurers from further attempts in this direc-

Overland tion, though other adventurers journeyed  
to the overland. Thus in 1558 Jenkinson  
East. managed to penetrate from Moscow

to Bokhara; and Ralph Fitch spent eight years in wandering in Persia and India, journeying overland from Aleppo to the Persian Gulf, and thence to India and Siam. In 1600, William Adams, an English pilot in the service of the Dutch, came to Japan, and tried to open up relations between that country and England. He was responsible for the building of the first Japanese fleet, and is still remembered by them as the founder of their navy. At the close of the century Lancaster made several voyages to India and the East by way of the Cape of Good Hope.

But the north-west passage still attracted Englishmen most, and many expeditions journeyed in this direction. Frobisher in 1576, 1577, and

1578, Davis in 1586, Hudson in 1609, Baffin in 1615, and Fox in 1631 explored the various

The passages leading to the Arctic Ocean, north-west west of Greenland. The results of their passage. labours were disappointing, for they were pursuing an almost impossible quest. But their names remain for ever on the map of the world, and their example inspired that remarkable series of Polar expeditions which have culminated in the splendid heroism of Scott and his companions.

The Spaniards had meanwhile established themselves in Central America. Between 1519 and 1521

England's Cortes, starting with 650 soldiers, completed the conquest of Mexico; eleven opposition to Spain. years later Pizarro followed his example by conquering Peru. Englishmen heard with envious wonder of the El Dorados of the New World, and desired to share in the wealth which was pouring yearly into the lap of Spain. After the Protestant Reformation in the reign of Elizabeth it became a duty to check the Spaniards at all costs. Tales of the Inquisition fired the feelings of the English Protestants against them. Spain's exclusive commercial policy was bitterly resented by English traders. William Hawkins had made expeditions to Brazil as early as 1530; John Hawkins and Francis Drake traded with the West Indies in 1565 and 1567, Hawkins being responsible for the establishment of the slave trade. An attack on their ships while at anchor at San Juan de Lua made Drake the enemy of Spain, and 1570 saw the first of his famous plundering expeditions to the Spanish Main. Not content with his work



THE BEGINNINGS OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE.  
Sir Humphrey Gilbert and his men in Newfoundland.



there, Drake entered the Pacific in 1577 in search of plunder, and came home in 1580 by way of the Cape, thus being the first Englishman to circumnavigate the globe. His example was followed by Cavendish (1586-1588). Attempts at colonisation were also made, though at first with little success.

Though the pursuit of plunder was the most important feature of these early expeditions, the work

The work  
of these  
early  
seamen.

done was not entirely destructive in character. It afforded splendid opportunities for the exercise of the spirit of daring and adventure which characterised the Englishmen of Elizabeth's day. The death of Sir Humphrey Gilbert on the return voyage from Newfoundland in 1584, and the wonderful last fight of the *Revenge* under Sir Richard Grenville against fifty-three ships of Spain in 1591, are but two of many Elizabethan examples of those deeds of brave and heroic seamanship which fill the pages of our English naval history.



## CHAPTER XVII.

### THE DECAY OF VILLAGE LIFE.

#### ENCLOSURES AND SHEEP-FARMING.

WE saw in a preceding chapter that the Black Death was responsible for some remarkable changes in English agriculture. Of these, one was the continuation of open-field farming under the new conditions of a stock and land lease system ; another a tendency on the part of the landowner to change from arable to pasture, and to enclose large tracts of land for the use of sheep. Throughout the fifteenth century England was famous for its wool. It acquired almost a monopoly of the wool trade with the Netherlands, its only serious rival being Spain. In 1354 the export of wool reached more than eleven and a half million pounds weight. The home woollen industry also increased steadily, and there was a constant demand for wool for home manufacture. Prices rose in consequence : between 1400 and 1540 a pound of wool could be bought for  $3\frac{1}{2}$ d.; its average price between 1540 and 1582 was  $7\frac{1}{2}$ d.—although we must bear in mind here that the prices of other articles were rising also, though not in the same proportion.

Such prices afforded great encouragement to

wool-growing. The stock and land lease system, moreover, had not proved very successful. Rents

Effect on had to be kept low because the lease-  
agriculture. holders were unable to pay higher ones ;  
the cost of replacing stock and of repairs was considerable. Sheep-farming was much less troublesome and paid better, and between 1450 and 1550 great quantities of land passed out of tillage and became pasture for sheep. For this period saw much wealth arising from commerce, and the commercial classes began to invest this money in land, partly because land was a good investment at a time when opportunities of investment were few, partly because its possession conferred social standing upon its holders. But these new landlords, " farming gentlemen and clerking knights," as Latimer terms them, had none of the traditions and associations which formed a bond between the older landlords and their tenants.

Capital  
now  
invested  
in  
farming. They regarded land as a source of  
wealth, to be worked on purely business  
principles, and were interested in getting  
a good return for the money they had  
invested. Farming became a trade in which much  
capital was sunk ; the older farming for subsistence only began to pass away.

Rapid increases in the price of wool made sheep-rearing more and more profitable, and the new landowners, with many of the older ones, turned their attention to sheep-rearing in preference to tillage. But sheep-rearing and the growth of wool under an open-field system were manifestly impossible.

Enclosure  
for  
sheep-  
rearing.

Hence land was enclosed and turned into sheep runs. Large areas of land were required for this purpose, and the landowner had several sources from which it could be obtained. He could begin with his own demesne land, he could encroach upon the common arable land, or the common meadow land, or even the common pasture of the village. The waste pasture land and woodlands were already in his power, for the Statute of Merton, 1235, permitted lords of manors to enclose and use any parts of the waste which were not required by their tenants. As long as his main interest had been in arable farming he had not required much of this waste; now that he was taking to sheep-farming, he was likely to require more and to force the villagers to be content with less. And as sheep-farming became more and more popular, recourse was had also to the arable strips. These were either rearranged to give the landowner his portion of the estate in one connected piece which he could enclose at will, or the tenants were dispossessed of their holdings altogether.

Wherever enclosure for sheep-farming went on, the yeomen and tenant farmers suffered. The conversion of the domain lands into sheep runs threw many men out of employment, for arable farming had meant the employment of many labourers who were now replaced by one or two shepherds. This meant ruin to those displaced, for labourers and small farmers alike had looked to this portion of their labours to supplement the living they were obtaining from their own lands. The enclos-

Results  
of this  
enclosure.

ing of portions of the open field interfered with the tenants' rights of pasture over them when they were fallow or stubble, at a time when the loss of the waste also left them with insufficient pasture for the stock they needed to work their fields and provide their food. In many cases they were turned out of their holdings, because their lands were wanted as sheep runs. This could be managed in various ways. Sir Thomas More tells us that "the farmers were got rid of either by fraud or force, or tired out with repeated wrongs into parting with their property." Heavy fines for the renewal of leases made it impossible for some to renew their agreements. Rents were doubled and even trebled. Where other means failed, eviction was resorted to. The law was on the side of the rich and of the landowners, and much injustice was done. According to a Puritan clergyman of the time, men lay in prison for years without any trial, and "the law was ended as a man was friended."

Enclosure and eviction were most frequent between 1470 and 1530, and occurred especially

Areas of in the eastern and south-eastern enclosure. portions of the country; the counties of Kent, Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, Leicestershire, Northamptonshire, Hertfordshire, and parts of Worcestershire and Shropshire being those mainly concerned. The landlords who replaced the monks after the dissolution of the monasteries seem to have been great offenders, but there were many others also who found it very profitable to invest the fortunes made in industry in this

way ; and this new capitalist class were great "rent-raisers," and treated their tenants in very high-handed fashion.

At the same time, another kind of enclosure was also in progress. The old open field system had afforded but little opportunity for enterprise on the part of the agriculturist, and at the beginning of the sixteenth century the old methods were still in use and the results obtained were very poor.

The badly-worked arable land was, in fact, quite exhausted by centuries of poor farming. It needed rest, and there was plenty of pasture and waste land to take its place with practically virgin soil. Men began to be interested in agricultural methods, and saw the weakness of the open field system. Hence they also began to enclose their lands, so that each holder could be independent of his neighbours, and farm his land in his own way to his best advantage. But this enclosing was for better tillage and not to make an end of arable farming ; though at the same time the enclosed fields gave better opportunities for

Enclosure for better tillage.      cattle and sheep rearing. On these enclosed lands the old threefold rotation of crops in open fields was changed for a system of *convertible industry*, under which the pasture land was broken

Convertible industry replaces open-field farming.      up at intervals by the plough and converted into arable, while the existing arable was rested as pasture. This gave to the worn-out arable a period of rest and recovery, as well as opportunities for better methods of treatment. Farmers

saw the value of thus enclosing lands; at the beginning of the sixteenth century, when common arable was renting at about sixpence an acre, enclosed arable was worth eightpence; in the next century an enclosed acre was considered to be worth four acres held in common.

No one objected to this kind of enclosure; it was a sign of progress and improvement. But the enclosures for sheep-farming led to much social discontent. Many evicted tenants became paupers; the small holders and yeomen who still retained possession of their farms were faced by greatly increased rents, with fewer opportunities for taking advantage of the common land and waste. The poor were at the mercy of landowner and manufacturer. An Act of Parliament in 1514 compelled every artificer and labourer to be at work from March to September before five in the morning, and not to leave until between seven and eight o'clock in the evening. In this long period of about fourteen and a half hours' labour they were to be allowed half an hour for breakfast and an hour and a half for dinner. During the winter the hours of labour were to be from dawn till dark. The prices of all commodities were

Rise in prices. rising without corresponding increases in wages. During the first half of the sixteenth century the cost of ordinary articles of consumption was trebled. This rise in prices was rendered greater by debasements of the coinage, and by the influx of silver from the newly-discovered Spanish possessions in the New

World. All added to the difficulties of the poor. The social discontent showed itself in riot and rebellion, though the despotism of the Tudor monarchy kept this well in check, sometimes by the use of German mercenaries, sometimes by hanging the discontented. One of the grievances of the rebels in the rising in the north of England

known as the Pilgrimage of Grace was Rebellion. the enclosure of lands ; in 1549 there was a very serious revolt in the eastern counties under the leadership of a tanner and landowner named Robert Ket. Many of the dispossessed families were added to the ranks of the beggars and vagabonds who were roaming the countryside, and the problem of provision for the poor became a very serious one.

The changed conditions were also of great national significance. Under the Tudors, English national policy was always a Policy of Tudor national policy ; the Policy of Power. Power, that is, a policy whose object was the strengthening of the nation by all possible means. Before all things England must be a powerful nation. The main items in the nation's strength were considered to be, a strong navy ; a sturdy and increasing population provided with a sufficiency of home-grown food ; and plenty of money in the treasury. The country had learned to depend upon its yeomanry and country free-holders for defence in case of need. They were the backbone of the militia, which was called out for the checking of invasions and for the suppression of risings in the various counties.

Bishop Latimer's father was such a yeoman, renting a farm at three or four pounds a year, and finding employment for half a dozen men. He had been able to rear his family well, without neglecting hospitality to his poorer neighbours, and alms to those in want. But his successor, saddled with a rent of sixteen pounds a year, found it impossible to do the same. Yet the presence of able-bodied men depended in great measure upon fostering a strong rural population, and this in turn depended upon arable farming, which demanded more labour and supplied food for the people. Hence there was frequent legislation to encourage corn-growing and to check enclosures.

Richard II. had permitted his subjects to export corn freely except to his enemies, subject to the control of the Council; under Henry VI. free export had been again permitted without license, so long as corn was selling at less than six and eightpence per quarter; Edward IV. had tried still further to encourage home sources of supply by prohibiting corn importation when prices were low. These enactments remained in force without alteration until 1571, when limited export was allowed under high duties and formed the beginning of a policy of protecting the interests of landlord and farmer, which lasted until the nineteenth century.

But the question of depopulation was too serious to be checked by measures such as these. Large areas were being cleared of their rural population. A petition to Henry VIII. in 1514 declared that



townships of twenty or thirty dwelling-houses had become quite decayed, and all the people had left them ; while, in many parishes, a population of sixty or eighty persons had been replaced by neatherd and shepherd alone. Dugdale quotes the case of Stretton in Warwickshire where the enclosure of 640 acres of land caused eighty persons to leave the parish and the church fell into ruins. The literature of the time contains frequent denunciations of enclosures for sheep-farming and the consequent depopulation of the countryside.

Attempts to prevent depopulation; The king and council were compelled to take note of this depopulation, for the south coast and the Isle of Wight were exposed to raids from French and Spanish pirates. In 1488 it was decreed that no man in the Isle of Wight was to be allowed to hold more than one farm, and the size of the farm was restricted. In 1514 and 1515 owners were ordered to rebuild decayed townships and restore the land to tillage within a year ; in 1517 commissioners were appointed to visit every county and find out the amount of land enclosed since 1488 with the number of ruined houses and wasted ploughs. Other Acts followed in due course, their number is sufficient evidence that they were not observed. An Act of 1534 suggests that there were, in the country, owners of as many as 10,000, 20,000, and even 24,000 sheep, and enacts that no man shall possess more than 2000 sheep. But this Act had to be followed by another two years later, and neither was successful in preventing sheep-farming nor in preventing the accumulation

of large estates into the hands of few owners, which was one of the objects with which such Acts were passed.

The administrators of the law were the country gentlemen who were interested in sheep-farming and enclosures. The landowners were <sup>failure of these attempts.</sup> in many cases absentees, who only paid occasional visits to their estates, and the Tudor court, at which they spent much of their time, was profligate and extravagant. It was easy to evade the Acts. A single furrow across a field was taken as proof that the land was under the plough ; a single room repaired for the use of a shepherd served as proof of the restoration of a farmhouse ; a single ox turned upon a large sheep-run made it land devoted to fattening cattle ; additional sheep, over and above the legal 2000, could be kept in the names of wife and children, and even of servants, if necessary. The development of the woollen industry made wool-growing economically profitable, and legal enactments were powerless to check it. Meanwhile the poor suffered severely ; it was estimated in 1548 that as many as 300,000 persons were thrown out of work. On the other hand serfdom was completely abolished by it and the manorial system came to an end. Some of the displaced labourers found work in the towns with their extending industries, and improvements in tillage did something to check the rise in the price of corn. But to very many this period of transition from open field farming to enclosed farms and larger landowners was a period of misery and distress.

## CHAPTER XVIII.

### GREAT CHANGES IN THE CHURCH.

THE Revival of Learning exercised a very great influence upon the religious life of western Europe.

The Renaissance was a time of new movements, political and social, moral and religious ; and new ideas and new forces challenged the older ideas and methods of the Middle Ages in every department of life. The new feeling of nationality was opposed to the older idea of a united Christendom with bounds much wider than those of any single state. The share of the Church, and of its governor the Pope, in the direction of European affairs was beginning to be questioned by the new national rulers, who were busily engaged in strengthening their rule in their own dominions, and desired the undivided obedience of their subjects. Even in the Middle Ages the right of papal interference had been a ground of quarrel ; now it was likely to become a matter of serious dispute.

A marked change had also taken place in the attitude of the laity towards the Church. They were beginning to take upon themselves duties which had previously been considered the pro-

vince of the clergy. The clergy had been generally accepted as the priests and teachers of the mediæval world, and their doctrines and dogmas had been accepted with but little questioning. Under the system of theology which they had fostered, fastings and scourgings, penances and pilgrimages, and separation from the world had been encouraged; and submission to the will and guidance of the Church had been considered essential. Now there was arising a desire on the part of the laity for a religious life in which each individual should be free to choose for himself, and to live under the guidance of a personal faith which found its inspiration in the Word of God, and its duties in the everyday life of the citizen. Laymen began to criticise the clerical standpoint; and a system of theology framed for an ignorant laity was found to require modification, now that the multiplication of books by the printing press and the extension of education had raised up a body of educated persons able to study the Scriptures and the works of the early Fathers of the Church for themselves.

This critical attitude was also fostered by the new belief in the importance of the individual, which was one of the fruits of the Renaissance. The belief had been growing steadily throughout the fifteenth century. It is visible in the increasing importance the laity attached to education, and in the desire of wealthy citizens to leave in secular rather than in ecclesiastical control those charities, such as education and the care of the

poor, which had previously been looked upon as the duties of the clergy.

In the course of the centuries the clergy had acquired considerable power over the souls and bodies of mankind in temporal as well as in spiritual matters. They controlled the lives of the people from the cradle to the grave. They possessed authority in many civil matters, and wills had to be proved in the ecclesiastical courts. They were themselves

Position  
of the  
clergy  
at the  
close of  
the  
Middle  
Ages.

exempt from the jurisdiction of the ordinary courts of the land in which they lived. They had the important right of self-taxation. They enjoyed a practical monopoly of learning, which made them the ministers and confidants of the rulers, and the direction of the affairs of Europe was largely in their hands. The power of their own courts had been generally sufficient to crush any heresy or rebellion, and their influence with kings and princes had enabled them to call kings and princes to their aid when necessary.

The bishops and clergy, the monks and the friars, were all taking sums of money from the people. Tithes and other offerings, fines for spiritual offences, fees of various kinds, the costs of cases in the ecclesiastical courts, all went to swell this total. Much of the money went yearly to Rome, and rulers who, in pursuit of the prevailing policy of power, were collecting treasure within their own realms, viewed this loss of money with dismay. Moreover, the Church

The  
money  
and lands  
of the  
Church.

held in its possession something like one-third of the land of Christendom. Even in the centuries of faith and loyalty there had been trouble over the holdings of the Church. The lands of the Templars had been confiscated ; the clergy had at various times been forced to contribute to the expenses of the State. Now that men were seeking eagerly for land as a means of investment and a source of social influence, the landed possessions of the Church became objects of envy.

This change in outlook came at a time when the clergy generally had fallen from the high ideals which marked the best of them in earlier centuries. In those days they had set a good example to their flocks : evil-doers within their ranks had been punished by their own courts ; their leaders had been on the side of the people in their struggles against oppression. Now the clergy were of lower moral tone ; many were ignorant, many were leading immoral lives ; there was much unbelief and impiety among them ; the right of sanctuary was often grossly abused. The Black Death was responsible in part, at any rate, for this decline. Parish priests had died at their posts in large numbers during the progress of the plague, and it had been impossible to replace them by successors as good as themselves. The monasteries, too, had fallen from their high estate ;

Decline  
in the  
character of  
the clergy,

and  
of the  
monks,

many of the monks had become careless and indolent, and sometimes positively sinful. There was need for another religious revival among them, but now

there seemed to be no St. Benedict or St. Bernard to call them to their former ideals of life.

The popes and bishops of the fifteenth century were often unworthy successors of earlier Church rulers. As their spiritual influence declined, these governors of the Church interfered more and more in temporal matters, and associated themselves with one or other of the European powers in their struggles for dominion. In the fourteenth century the papal seat was transferred from Rome to Avignon ; the Pope became almost a prisoner and dependent of France, and Wyclif denounced him as the enemy of the English race. The Papal Court was filled with fraud and violence. A succession of popes used their great powers for the enrichment of their own families and dependents. Evil living, corruption, greed, extravagance, and even murder were openly practised in the very centre of Christendom. There was unbelief and impiety amongst those who held the highest offices in the Church.

These things had caused a lowering of the spiritual life and moral tone of Christendom.

The need for reform. Outward observances in religion had tended to become all-important in the eyes of the ignorant laity. Things which, to an educated person, might have proved valuable aids in his religious life, became to many people objects of idolatry and superstition. And at this very time Christendom was being attacked by enemies in the Turks and Moors who were pressing in upon it. Rulers felt the danger arising

from the control of the Church in matters of government and from its possession of great estates ; the common people contrasted the immoral lives of the clergy with the beliefs they professed. Hence there arose much questioning about matters of belief and matters of Church government, and many of the best thinkers of the time saw the necessity of Church reform. The great danger was, that, by resisting reform, the Papal Court might cause a schism within the Church itself.

In Italy the Renaissance had been intellectual rather than moral ; indeed the new interest in the pagan classical world led, in many cases, to a disbelief in Christianity altogether. But when the movement crossed the Alps to the Teutonic nations, it took upon itself an intense moral earnestness it had not known before.

There was a combination of the spirit of the Revival of Learning with an earnest desire for religious reform. The importance of the classics faded before that of the Bible and the writings of the Fathers of the Church. The value of Latin, Greek, and Hebrew was measured by their utility in unlocking these treasures. The Humanists,

as the new scholars were termed, turned their knowledge to the examination of the teaching of the Church.

In England their great leader was John Colet, who became Dean of St. Paul's. With him were joined, among others, Sir Thomas More and Erasmus, a native of Holland, who found friends and patrons and a home in England. These men



saw clearly the need for religious reform. They were in no sense revolutionists. Firm believers in the benefits of the new learning, they looked for a reformation which should be brought about by the spread of education and fostered by the governors of both Church and State. The Bible became their guide ; its teachings, and the teachings of St. Augustine and the Fathers, their rules of conduct. The light of learning was to be all-sufficient to dispel the mists of ignorance and superstition in which the people were lost, and to this end the Bible was necessary as taking men back to the teaching of Christ and his apostles. A new Latin and Greek edition of the New Testament was issued by Erasmus, and prepared the way for translations of the Scriptures into the common tongues. " I long that the husbandman should sing portions of them to himself as he follows the plough," wrote Erasmus, " that the weaver should hum them to the tune of his shuttle, that the traveller should beguile with their stories the weariness of his journey."

But though this noble band of scholars did much by their writing and preaching, reform did not come directly from their efforts  
Martin Luther. nor in the way they would have desired. The need for reform was brought home to the German people by the teaching of Martin Luther. He was a man of sincere religious belief and deep moral earnestness. He was convinced of the sinfulness and unworthiness of man, and considered that the mediæval Church, with its penances, pilgrimages, indulgences, and so on, was doing

little to effect a real reformation in the individual. He preached the necessity of a reform in man's spiritual life, which should come by faith rather than by good works, which were valuable only in proportion as they showed this faith. His teaching made an appeal to the national sentiment of the German people, and a number of states declared in his favour. Other great religious

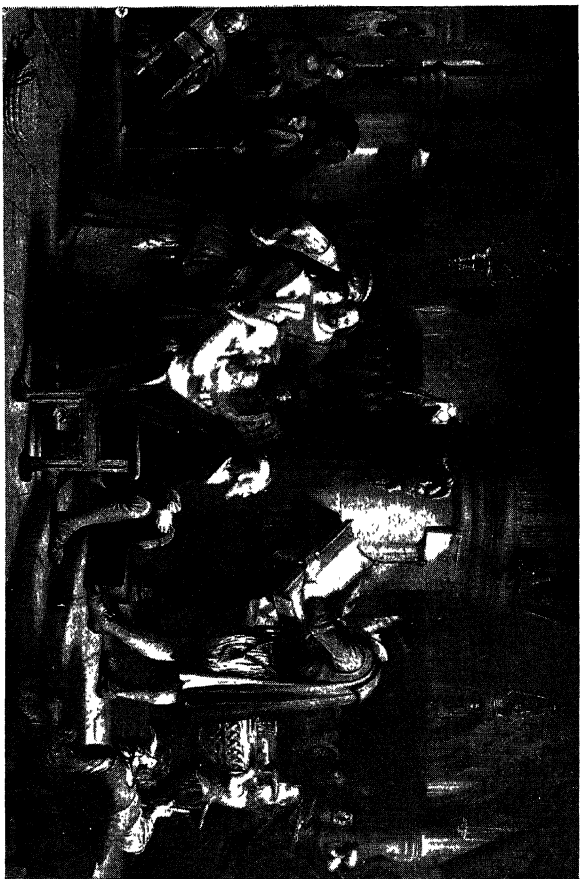
Calvin leaders arose, such as the Frenchman, and John Calvin, in Geneva, and John Knox. Knox in Scotland, and contributed in their respective provinces to the breach with Rome.

Continental changes were not without their influence in England. The English Church was far less corrupt than were continental Churches, and the feeling against it was less pronounced. What feeling there was, was mainly concerned with the grievances of the ecclesiastical courts, which inflicted heavy fines and claimed great power over the laity in matters of marriage and divorce, the proving of wills, and other matters. The English Church had never been associated with Rome to the same extent as the continental churches had been. It had always retained much of the national spirit. Its bishops and other leaders had repeatedly protested against the extortion and tyranny of the Papal Court. Hence the Reformation movement in England was not marked by the presence of a leader of the type of Luther, Calvin, or Knox. In its early stages it depended upon the will of an arbitrary monarch, Henry VIII., who was con-

sulting his own personal interests in the matter of a divorce from his queen, Catherine of Aragon.

at first The changes which took place in the  
mainly Church were thus political at first and  
political, religious afterwards. Disagreement between Henry VIII. and the Pope led to the separation of the English Church from Rome. There was no break in the continuity of the Church, nor was there at first very much change in its doctrines and practices. All the changes made were carried out by the Acts of a parliament which sat from 1529 to 1536. The sovereign was declared to be the supreme Head of the Church, and all payments to Rome were forbidden. The fees to be paid to the clergy for their services were regulated to prevent extortion ; the worst abuses of the system of pluralities, that is, of holding more than one benefice, were done away with ; the exemption of the clergy from the jurisdiction of the ordinary courts came to an end. The services of the Church were performed in English, and an English version of the Bible was published. But once these

afterwards changes had been made, English Pro-  
religious. testantism developed. Under the guidance of Archbishop Cranmer and Protector Somerset further alterations were made in the reign of Edward VI., and the opinions of the continental reformers began to have greater weight. There was a return to the older practices during the reign of Mary, but with the accession of Elizabeth the English national church was firmly established under the protection and control of the State, and England became definitely a Protestant country.



THE EARLY DAYS OF THE REFORMATION.

Reading aloud from a chained Bible placed in one of the churches.



All these reforms were associated with great social changes. The first attacks of the reformers were directed against the monasteries, of which there were more than six hundred in England at this time. Many people felt that they had outlived their day ; and, indeed, for more than a century, very few new ones had been founded. The monks were now unpopular as a class ; their estates were a great temptation to the spoiler ; their wealth made them the objects of the envy of the rich. Only their indiscriminate charity made them still popular with the poor. We know from the writings of More and Erasmus that there was much evil living within them. In 1536 the smaller monastic houses were suppressed, and in 1539 the larger ones were also swept away. An Act of Parliament gave all their possessions to the king. The original intention was to use their wealth for the creation of new bishoprics and the foundation of schools and churches. But large areas of land, with many monastic churches and buildings, went cheaply to greedy courtiers, who evicted the tenants and turned the estates into sheep farms, whereas some of the monastic corporations had once been among the best landlords and farmers in England.

This confiscation of religious endowments was completed in 1547 by the Chantry Act, which took away from the gilds and other corporate bodies that part of their funds which was associated with religious

observances. There were few gilds, corporations, or fraternities without funds set apart for masses for dead founders, chantries, support for the old and sick, and other charitable purposes. They had now to lose this portion of their incomes, and the confiscations told heavily against the working of the gilds and the help they had formerly rendered to the poorer classes, both in the matter of education and in charity generally. Only the London gilds were spared, and these because they were too strong to be attacked. It has been estimated that, as a result of the suppression of the monasteries and the confiscation of the chantry lands, something like one-fifteenth of the land of England changed hands about this time.

Thus the reformation in the church had not come about without serious injury to certain classes of the community. Nor was

The Counter-Reformation. the settlement arrived at under Elizabeth both acceptable to all. Alongside the developments of Protestantism at home and abroad had gone also a great change in the Roman Catholic Church. The spread of the new doctrines roused this church to a sense of its danger, and during the second half of the sixteenth century a counter reformation within this church stemmed the tide of Protestantism and won back large areas for it. In this Catholic revival the newly established order of the Jesuits played a very important part. This society was a missionary order of an aggressive type, which sought to influence men and women by its preachers, and children by its schools. Its members were zealous

and enthusiastic, and were always ready to lay down their lives for the cause they had at heart. In the reigns of Elizabeth and James I. they made strenuous efforts to win back England to their church.

But in this they were unsuccessful, for the reformation in England was only the beginning

Growth of a great moral and religious movement which seized upon the English Puritanism: people, and especially upon the middle classes. A new moral impulse bound together people of all ranks of society. Life took upon itself a more serious tone. All that was coarse, profane, and impure in the courtly life of the times was repugnant to them. Simplicity, purity, and order became essential characteristics of the good man, and these in every aspect of his life, whether it was dress or general bearing or con-

its ideals; versation or amusement. A new ideal of the equality of all men in the sight of God arose in opposition to the pretensions of kings, bishops, or clergy to a superiority based upon their position. All were alike the children of God, called to be saints and to testify of Him. The Bible alone was accepted as the guide of a Puritan's conduct; and he refused even in the face of persecution, exile, or death to recede from this position. In its early days, at any rate, Puritanism found also a delight in the pleasure and the joy of life, a delight at once more sober and more dignified than that of the earlier Elizabethan days. But in the days preceding the Civil War, the Puritan spirit hardened consider-



ably, and the smallness of mind of some of the Puritans began to make it less pleasing than it <sup>its</sup> formerly had been. Its harsh inter-weaknesses. ference in some of the ordinary affairs of life made it disliked by many English people of all grades of society. Yet it would be absurd to take the Restoration caricatures of Puritan types as representative of a movement which included such Englishmen as Hampden and Pym, Cromwell and Hutchinson, Milton and Bunyan.

## CHAPTER XIX.

### ALONG THE ROADS.

#### A TALE OF VAGABONDAGE, POVERTY, AND DISTRESS.

ONE of the most serious problems of Tudor times was that of unemployment. All the social changes we have been describing helped to make this question a very difficult and dangerous one. The exclusive policy of the gilds lessened the opportunities of work in the corporate towns. Manufactures began to be worked upon a more speculative scale, and the old stability of employment disappeared. The century of comparative peace which followed the battle of Bosworth saw great increases in the population. Prices were rising rapidly while increases in wages lagged behind. Between 1511 and 1550 the price of provisions rose something like 50 per cent. ; wages did not rise half so much. The heavy taxation to which the kingdom was subjected by Henry VIII. told in the same direction. Worse still, he attempted to obtain money by a debasement of the coinage, a measure also resorted to by the ministers of Edward VI. This led to a rapid rise in prices and the driving of good money out of

The  
Tudor  
problem  
of the  
unemployed.

Causes of  
unemploy-  
ment :  
high  
prices ;

circulation, with corresponding injury to trade and commerce, evils which were not checked until Elizabeth restored the coinage to its proper value. All these measures tended to throw men out of work, and lessened the means of helping the infirm and the needy, while it added to their numbers. To many it seemed scarcely worth while to labour for the wages offered. The guilds and town corporations found it increasingly difficult to provide for their sick and poor. Many a poor man in despair took to the open road and commenced a life of vagrancy.

At the same time, the work of Henry VII. in causing the disbandment of the army of retainers <sup>disbanding</sup> and servants, who had been the up-  
<sup>of</sup> holders of the feudal nobility, threw out  
<sup>retainers</sup> ; of employment a number of men whose whole experience unfitted them for regular work. Of idle serving men the proverb ran, " Young serving men, old beggars." They were profitable to nobody when once their term of service was passed, and they went out on the highways and begged or stole for a living. The end of the long period of warfare at home and a cessation of wars on the Continent added to swashbucklers of this type, who gained money by intimidating peaceful citizens, and were willing to employ sword and dagger on behalf of any one who would pay them for such services.

The enclosures for sheep-farming sent whole families upon the road to increase the number of wanderers. The dissolution of the monasteries left large numbers of vagrants without their usual

sources of relief. The indiscriminate charity of the monks had helped to increase the number of idle beggars, without doing much to relieve the distress of the deserving poor, yet monastic doles had at any rate been one source of relief, and now that source was stopped, while nothing was appointed to fill its place. Nor had the monks been the only sinners in this respect. Barons and clergy also had kept open house ; the Earl of Derby fed over sixty old people twice a day, and all comers thrice a week ; Thomas Cromwell served at his gate more than two hundred persons twice every day with bread and meat and drink.

All this had helped to foster a class of professional beggars, and begging was not looked upon as disgraceful. The friars and others of various religious orders had made the practice a common one ; scholars of the universities had used it as a means of getting through their vacations, and of providing the wherewithal for subsequent studies ; many sick persons lived on charity so obtained ; the pilgrim had begged his way along the road from shrine to shrine. Earlier centuries had known trouble from vagrancy, but in the Middle Ages the matter had been kept well in hand.

The period of eviction and dispossession had not commenced, for it was to the interest of the manorial lords to retain as many people as possible upon the land ; almsgiving was looked upon as a religious duty ; the parish priest was expected to devote a portion of the

tithe to the care of the sick and needy ; almshouses, orphanages, and hospitals did something ; the monks dispensed hospitality with open hand.

But in the sixteenth century the whole structure of society was changing. The poorer classes were beginning to occupy a different position with respect to their richer brethren. Serfdom had at any rate carried with it the means of livelihood, however poor and wretched that livelihood might be ; the free labourers and workers in town and country alike were now often faced with semi-starvation. Beggars became a serious plague. It is suggested that as many as 10,000 persons were tramping the roads in the reign of Elizabeth out of a population of less than 5,000,000 people. This estimate is probably exaggerated, but it shows the greatness of the evil, a fact also brought out clearly by the almost panic legislation—the whippings and scourgings and brandings—put forward to cope with it. For the absence of

Tudor any efficient police left the beggar  
beggars. gangs at liberty to do as they pleased. The Dogberrys of the reign of Elizabeth were probably well advised to leave such vagrants alone. They broke into houses, pillaged the pigsties and hen-roosts, robbed men and women returning from fairs and markets, and took possession of farmers' outhouses and barns as places of shelter, under threat of burning down everything, if any objection was raised, or food was not quickly found them.

All who were tramping the roads were not of this class. Some were really in search of work,

and desirous of living by honest labour, but very many were idle vagabonds who had no intention

Types of of working. A commission of the  
beggars: reign of Edward VI. divides the  
poor into three main classes. First, there  
the are those who are poor through mis-  
.impotent fortune, such as orphans, the aged,  
poor; lame, and blind, and persons suffering  
from diseases, such as leprosy and dropsy. Next  
come those who are poor as the result of accident  
or mischance, such as wounded soldiers and  
persons fallen on evil times through disease or  
fire or other cause of loss. Thirdly, there are the  
thriftless poor, vagabonds that will abide in no  
place, idlers that refuse to work, rioters who have  
consumed all their substance. This class, con-  
stantly recruited from the other classes, was a  
real danger to the commonwealth. Its members  
went round the country in troops with some sort  
of organised government of their own. A con-  
temporary account gives as many as twenty-three  
varieties of them. You might meet with the  
the ruffler, a discarded retainer or a swash-  
ruffler; buckler returned from the wars, tall  
and muscular, and clad in doublet and hose that  
had seen better days, its rich material thread-  
bare and faded, its lace sadly tarnished, the plume  
of his large Spanish hat broken and bedraggled.  
He swaggered along with rapier and dagger at  
his side, claimed to have fought for his country,  
and showed the wound he had most probably  
gained in some low public-house brawl. He  
begged relief of the strong, but his chief trade

was that of robbing wayfaring men and market women. The Abraham man was one who feigned the madness like the fool in Lear, and Abraham called out for "charity for poor Tom," man; as he walked along. The hookers or hangers could jerk away the contents of rooms through their open windows by means of a cord with a hook attached; they were even known to steal the bedclothes from people asleep in bed.

Then there were pretended mariners the "ship-wrecked sailor"; "whose ships," says our author, "were drowned in the plain of Salisbury," ready, like all the rest, to steal wherever it was possible, were it clothes put out on the hedges to dry, or poultry from the farms, or goods exposed for sale in the booths and stalls of markets and fairs. Some of the cleverest rogues the horse-thief; would steal horses from the pastures and convey them across country to distant horse fairs. Many innkeepers and most of the hostlers were in league with them; and their ill-gotten gains were freely spent on drink, cards, and dice.

Various devices were resorted to by the beggars to awaken the pity of the passers-by. Men with the patched and bandaged eyes pretended pretenders to be blind, others with wooden legs of illness; and crutches pretended to be lame. Others simulated the falling sickness, or fell in the road in a pretended fit, their clothes covered with dirt, their faces smeared with blood, their mouths foaming with the soap they had swallowed. Others again produced horrible running sores

upon their arms and legs by means of spearwort, ratsbane, and other herbs. Closely allied to them were the pedlars, travelling tinkers, knife-grinders, fencers, players, jugglers, and minstrels, all of whom were classed as vagabonds. Women also accompanied them. Some carried packs of laces, pins, needles, silk girdles, and other finery; others were skilled in palmistry and other forms of fortune-telling, and many silly serving-maids were robbed by them. At times the law intervened with swift and merciless severity. Fortune-telling might be classed as witchcraft, for which the punishment was burning; death was a common punishment for stealing. Every year many hundreds of these vagabonds, often at the rate of twenty a time, perished on the gallows. But the severity of the punishment failed to check crime, and in many cases drove the offender to the more desperate deed of murder in the hope of escaping detection.

Continued attempts were made to cope with the evil. During the first half of the century this work was undertaken by the town councils, but parliament and the Privy Council also interfered. In the reign of Elizabeth, parliament became very active, though it was glad to profit by the experience of the towns, and many statutes were copies of the methods the towns had already adopted. The first acts were mainly attempts at repression by severe punishments. It was soon realised, however, that the richer members of the community should con-



tribute towards the cost of keeping the feeble and infirm, and collections were made. These were at first in the form of charitable, religious, voluntary offerings, but were finally made compulsory, and were levied by the State. It was also realised that if persons were to be compelled to work, work must be found for them, and a portion of the money collected was therefore used to buy materials for this purpose.

In 1495 it was ordained that all vagrants should spend three days and three nights in the stocks.

1495. In 1503 the period was reduced to one

1503. day and one night. Those who were

1531. unable to work were ordered to return to their own parishes or hundreds and remain there. In 1531 these impotent poor were granted the right to hold licences to beg. These were obtainable from the local justices of the peace, and defined the area within which alms might be solicited. By the same Act all able-bodied vagrants were to be whipped at the cart-tail through the streets of the township in which they were found begging, and were then to be sent on to their own homes "to labour as true men should do." A certificate was given them proving their punishment, and naming the place to which they were travelling, and the time granted them to get there. They were then permitted to beg, and escaped further punishment if they did not exceed the time allowed or go elsewhere than towards their homes. Almsgiving to sturdy beggars was also prohibited on pain of severe penalties.

So far, repression had not been associated with

any system of relief. It was one thing to be ordered to work, another to find work. Hence

1536. an Act of Parliament of 1536, which ordered the relief of whipped beggars travelling home at the rate of ten miles a day, the keeping of the impotent poor, and the provision of work for able-bodied vagrants, empowered the churchwardens to raise funds in each parish for these purposes by means of collections on Sundays and other holy days. Parishes not observing the Act were to be fined. It was also enacted that all children found begging were to be taken from their parents and put to service. This is a distinct step forward. The obligation to contribute is still looked upon as a religious duty, but it is recognised as the duty of each parish to provide for the relief of its poor. Punishment for almsgiving was also introduced as a means of preventing the indiscriminate charity which aided and abetted rather than cured the evil.

In 1547 there was a reaction towards savagery. The children of beggars were to be taken from

their parents and apprenticed until  
1547. they were twenty-four; able-bodied vagrants could be condemned to temporary or even to perpetual bondage; there were even provisions for branding those who ran away from the work they were set to perform. But because of their severity these methods were never put into operation, and Parliament returned to the milder and saner methods of 1536. One difficulty was that the voluntary basis of almsgiving did not prove satisfactory. Many refused to contribute. In 1552

it was decided that those who did not contribute when asked by the parson should be spoken to by the bishop. But this was not much more  
1552. successful. What was wanted was a definite contribution at stated intervals, and under Queen Mary Christmas was fixed as a time for obtaining definite promises of regular contributions.

It was left, however, for Elizabeth's Council and Parliament to place the question of contributions on a satisfactory basis. The whole problem of the poor was dealt with by them in a series of Acts; and measures passed in 1597 and previous years were established as the basis of a national system of poor relief by the famous Poor Law Act of 1601.

1601. There was to be a definite assessment of the country for purposes of poor relief; contributions were to depend upon rateable value, and were to be compulsory. Responsible collectors were appointed, with overseers of the poor whose duty it was to distribute the relief. The money collected was to go to the relief of the impotent poor, the teaching of trades to poor children, and the setting on work of the sturdy beggar and able-bodied vagrant. Stocks of wool, flax, hemp, and other materials were to be provided, useful articles were to be made from these stores, and the articles were to be sold to provide money for further stores. Those who refused to work were to be compelled to do so, and Houses of Correction were established in which idlers could be employed and the disorderly punished.

But even when laws had been passed, it was not easy to get them enforced. Men objected to paying

the rates, officers neglected to enforce the regulations. It was therefore necessary for the Privy Council to interfere and exert pressure upon the justices of the peace and the municipal authorities in the interests of the poor and needy. This intervention of the Council led to much good administration, especially between 1629 and 1640, the years when Charles I. ruled without a parliament. Attempts were made to provide work for the unemployed, to regulate wages in the supposed interests of the workers, and to keep down the price of corn in years of scarcity. In 1631 a Book of Orders required justices of the peace to hold special meetings for poor law business and to send to the Council reports of their meetings. In this way the Elizabethan poor laws were effectively administered, and with the growth of wealth and industry, and the increased produce arising from better methods of agriculture, there was a cessation of the worst features of vagrancy.

The outbreak of the Civil War put an end to the work of the justices. During the continuance of the war the poor law was badly administered, and there was no great improvement under the Commonwealth. The Restoration saw the disbandment of some 50,000 Cromwellian soldiers who returned quietly to private life. In 1662 an Act was passed for the better relief of the poor, which is generally known as the Act of Settlement. It was argued by the framers of this Act that there was a tend-

The work  
of the  
Privy  
Council.

Book of  
Orders,  
1631.

Act of  
Settlement,  
1662;

ency for poor people to collect in those parishes which had the largest commons and wastes and the greatest woods, or which offered the best opportunities of getting relief. It was probably framed in the interests of London and Westminster, which were being burdened by the ever-increasing number of poor who collected in them. It enacted that if complaint were made by the churchwardens or overseers to any justice of the peace within forty days of the settlement of any person in any tenement under the yearly value of £10, it was lawful for two justices to order the removal of such persons to the parish where they were last legally settled for at least forty days, unless they could give security that they would not prove a burden on the poor rates of their new parish. Certain alterations in the method of giving notice were subsequently made. In 1697 it was decided that a person might stay in the new parish until he became chargeable, if he could produce a certificate from his former parish. He was then to be moved back at the expense of his former parish if he should become chargeable. Other exceptions were also made to allow of movement in harvest-time, but the main effect of the Act was to restrict poor people for their lifetime to the parish in which they were born, to prevent them from seeking better conditions elsewhere, and to destroy all incentive to improvement on their part. "It was often more difficult for a poor man to pass the artificial boundary of a parish than an arm of the sea or a ridge of high mountains." This led to great

its evil  
effects.

inequalities of labour conditions and wages in neighbouring districts and in different parts of the country, and did much to injure the lives of the industrious poor by interfering with their freedom, and by keeping them in districts where work was scarce or not to be obtained.

## CHAPTER XX.

### THE LONDON OF GOOD QUEEN BESS.

#### (i) IN WORKING GARB.

LONDON, as Queen Elizabeth knew it, was a very different city from the London of to-day. If she or any of her subjects could revisit it they would be amazed at the size to which it has grown, the number of people it contains, and the magnificence of its streets and buildings. Greater London now covers an area of over 600 square miles, and has a population of more than seven and a quarter millions; the London of Elizabeth contained about 120,000 people, living within an area of less than  $1\frac{1}{4}$  square miles. No part of the City was more than about ten minutes' walk from the open fields; densely populated parts of modern London, such as Islington, Hoxton, and Stepney, were suburban villages in which wealthy city merchants built country houses; hares, partridges, pheasants, and herons could be hunted in the fields of Westminster, Highgate, Hornsey, and Hampstead; Whitechapel Road and Ratcliff Highway had fair elm trees along either side the way; noblemen's houses, with gardens sloping

to the Thames, lined the Strand which led from the City to Westminster.

Yet to the Elizabethans London was a city growing beyond all bounds. The problems of food supply, public health, and government were difficult ones to them.

Difficulties of London government. Bad characters collected in wretched houses just beyond the City boundaries; poor people came into London to hide their poverty and to beg for a living. In 1571 the Lord Mayor complained of the difficulty of keeping order, owing to the increase in the number of the poor; in 1580 the erection of any new houses within three miles of the City wall was forbidden by royal proclamation; in 1593 this regulation was enforced by Act of Parliament. But, in spite of the pulling down of newly built houses which broke these regulations, London continued to grow, and the new regulations only huddled the poor closer together by the conversion of houses into tenements, with consequent overcrowding and greater danger from the plague which was never very far away.

London had always occupied a unique position in the affairs of the nation. It was by far the most important seaport in the kingdom. Its importance in the kingdom. It had been a great commercial centre from very early times. The north of England was still mainly agricultural; the chief manufacturing centres were in the south-east and west. The neighbourhood of London was the home of the court and the centre of the government of the realm.



London had always had a big voice in matters of national government; its citizens had repeatedly exercised a decisive influence in the succession to the throne; its citizens could furnish ships for the navy and soldiers for the national militia in case of need.

The inhabitants were very proud of their City and its history, its buildings, and its famous citizens. Its commerce was developing and extending; its merchants and merchant companies were sending their ships to all parts of the known world. It had been from the first a very cosmopolitan city, and many of its traders and citizens came from the towns of the Continent. In times of trouble abroad its streets were thronged with refugees; in 1582, out of a population of about 100,000, it contained no fewer than 6462 foreigners, chiefly French and Dutch. Its industries benefited greatly by these immigrants. There were French cooks and bakers, Dutch brewers, and Flemish woollen weavers. Silk weavers from France and the Netherlands were beginning to make that industry a very important one. But the greatest gain to London commercially came from the sack of Antwerp by the Spaniards in 1585. From that time Antwerp lost its position as the greatest European centre of international trade and finance, and London and Amsterdam took its place.

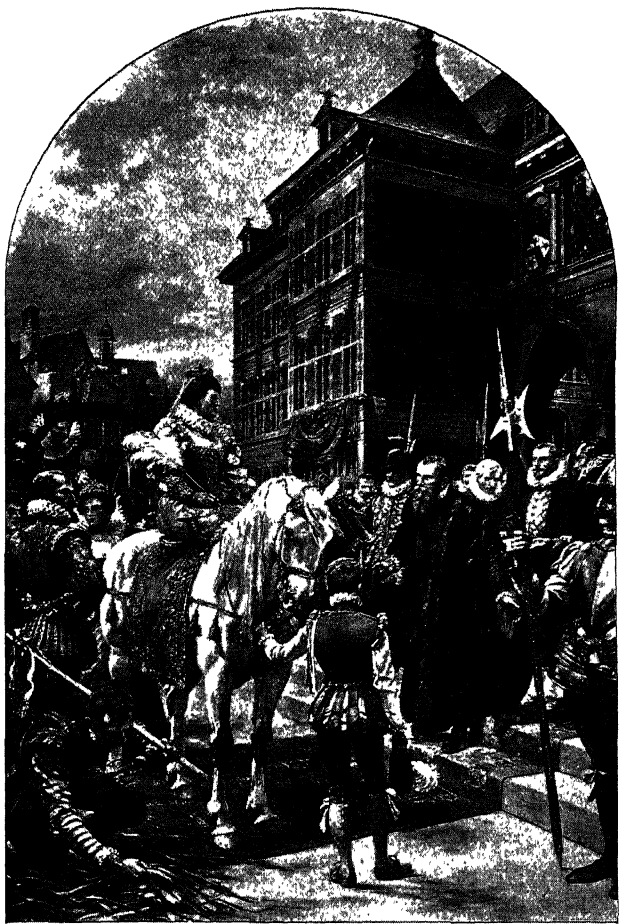
Let us go through some of the streets of Elizabethan London while its citizens are at work, and see what all is like. If we are not already within

the City we shall have to enter it by one of the gates—Ludgate, Newgate, recently rebuilt, Alders-Elizabethan gate, Bishopsgate, or Aldgate ; for the London wall still stands around the City except at work : along Thames side. London, however, has grown beyond its walls, and its limits are marked by the bars whose names still remain in Temple Bar and Holborn Bars. The great moat which surrounds the City is now being filled, and houses are being built upon its banks. We will go first to Chepe, the modern Cheapside, the great shopping and market place which its shops ; stretches eastward from St. Paul's. In earlier days it contained only booths and stalls ; now it contains dwelling-houses, though there is still a broad open way along it. Many of the shops are in the streets which run at right angles to this, and are named after the articles formerly sold in the stalls which stood along them—Bread Street, Wood Street, Honey Lane, etc. But though it is characteristic of Elizabethan, as of earlier, London, that those who make or sell certain classes of goods usually live together in the same district, great changes have taken place since mediæval times. Bread Street is now inhabited by wealthy merchants ; the ironmongers have gone from Ironmonger Lane to Thames Street ; the south side of Chepe is the home of the goldsmith ; the mercers and haberdashers, who formerly dwelt there, have gone to the shops on London Bridge ; the drapers and woollen merchants have moved from Lombard Street and Cornhill to Watling Street and Candlewick (the

modern Cannon) Street, displacing the pepperers and grocers, who now live in Bucklersbury; the cookshops have been transferred from Eastcheap to Thames Street, and their place has been taken by butchers' shops.

There are also many other important markets. At the east end of Chepe, on the site of the present markets, Mansion House, is the Stocks market, so called from the stocks which stand near the junction of Chepe and Cornhill. This is the great market for meat, poultry, and fish, and the rents from the stalls are used for the repair of London Bridge. Meat markets are also held in Eastcheap and at St. Nicholas's shambles near Newgate, where the slaughter-houses are. Fish is sold in both Old Fish Street and New Fish Street. Farther east than the Stocks market is Leadenhall, which contains the public weighing beams. North of Chepe is Bakewell Hall, where there is a weekly market for all sorts of woollen cloths.

Just beyond the Stocks market at the beginning of Cornhill stands London's newest public building, and the Royal Exchange. This was only opened by the Queen in 1571. It is a splendid brick building of three stories, built around an open courtyard or quadrangle, which is surrounded by a covered walk. Around this are more than a hundred shops, occupied by booksellers, apothecaries, haberdashers, milliners, and others; but the shops on the ground floor are not popular with either tenants or customers owing to the lack of light. The south



QUEEN ELIZABETH OPENING ROYAL EXCHANGE.

*(From the painting by E. Crofts, R.A.)*



side, which is known as the *pawn*, has the best shops. These are devoted to the sale of silks and haberdashery. The Exchange is a popular resort for all classes, though its main object is to furnish a bourse or meeting-place for the City merchants, who collect here for business purposes when the great bell of the Exchange rings at midday and at six in the evening. Formerly they were compelled to transact their business in the open air in Lombard Street and elsewhere. They owe their present quarters to the queen's chief financial agent, Sir Thomas Gresham, a London mercer trading at the sign of the Grasshopper in Lombard Street, who has found it more profitable to act as goldsmith, banker, and moneylender. He had seen similar bourses on the Continent, notably at Antwerp, and offered to erect one in London at his own cost if the City would find the site. Hence the present building, which Her Majesty has been pleased to name the Royal Exchange.

In spite of the improvement in some of the public buildings even the main streets remain  
The streets of the City. dirty and badly paved, while the side streets, alleys, and courts leading from them are dirty, dark, and gloomy, for the projecting upper stories of the houses nearly meet in the centre of the way. All kinds of rubbish are thrown into the streets, the slops are thrown out from the upper windows, and the kennel, cut along the centre of the road to carry away the waste, is often choked with dirt. The lighting of the streets depends upon the good will of the citizens, who are expected to hang out lanterns,

Those who have to be out after dark carry their own lanterns, or are preceded by torch or lantern bearers. People are moving through the streets on foot and on horseback ; and the drays, carts, and coaches add to the noise and danger of the narrow streets, partly from the recklessness of the coachmen and the carelessness of draymen who sit and sleep on the drays and let the horses lead them home. The cries of fishwives, orange-women, chimney-sweeps, milkmaids, water-carriers, and rush-sellers add to the din.

The houses are built of timber frameworks filled in with bricks or plaster. The lowest story

The houses. of many of the houses is of stone. The shop fronts are sheds built under the projecting penthouses of the upper stories, and many of the shops still have open fronts. Signs project into the street or are fixed upon the fronts of the houses to show the passers-by whose shop it is, and what is the nature of its trade. Shopkeepers and apprentices stand outside, and add to the noise of the streets by crying their wares and trying to persuade the passers-by to purchase them ; many rough jokes and pointed remarks are made by the apprentices at the expense of

The dissatisfied customers or people who apprentices. refuse to buy. Indeed, the apprentices are quite a feature of the streets and are well known everywhere in their flat caps, blue gowns reaching to their calves, and white breeches and stockings. They are bound apprentices to their masters for seven years, and the service includes more than learning the trade, for they wait upon

him at table and accompany him through the streets when he goes to church, or when he is taking goods for inspection to private houses. They may also be called upon to act as body-guard to their mistress when she goes abroad. And a very effective guard they are as they go along armed with stout clubs. Woe betide any man who interferes with one of them, for at the cry of "Clubs, clubs," all the apprentices in the neighbourhood seize their clubs and rush forth to help their comrade in trouble. Some of them are excellent workers and salesmen, but there are those who ape the manners of the court, dress in fine apparel, and frequent the gaming houses ; and there are idle and careless ones among them who spend much of their spare time in taverns over wine and "minced pyes," and sometimes neglect to take the name and address of persons whom they are serving with goods on credit. Their hours are long, being from six in the morning in summer and seven in winter, till nine in the evening, and they are much annoyed if the clerk at Bow Church is a little late with the nine o'clock bell. When they are greatly roused danger may follow, and many still talk of Evil May Day, the May-day of 1517, when the apprentices, roused by sermons preached at St. Mary Spital against the foreign merchants and artisans, broke out into a riot, attacked the foreigners, and did much damage to their persons and property.

But we must leave the apprentices and visit Thames side, for the City is a great port, and the Thames is the great highway of London, not only



for goods, but also for passengers. The contrast between the narrow dirty crowded streets and

The the open river with its many swans  
Thames: and flowing water, even though the water is not very clear, immediately shows us why this is so. People are journeying up and down and across the river in rowing boats called wherries. They land at the landing-stairs nearest their destination and then complete their journey on foot or on horseback. There are as many as 2000  
its wherries and 3000 watermen engaged  
watermen; in this work; and many persons also possess their private boats and barges.

Along the river front from the Tower to Baynard's Castle, near Ludgate, are wharves  
its where goods are unloaded from the  
wharves barges which have brought them up  
and from larger ships lying lower down  
quays. the river. Merchants of all nations have their landing-places, warehouses, and cellars for goods and merchandise along the banks.

The most important of these wharves and quays are Queenhithe above London Bridge and Billingsgate below. During the Middle Ages there was much rivalry between these places, but the difficulty of passing London Bridge has given Billingsgate a decided advantage. Ships come up to this quay and unload wheat, rye and other grain, fish both fresh and salt, shellfish, salt, oranges and other fruits, onions, and various other articles. Another place we must visit is the Vintry wharf, where the French wines from Bordeaux and elsewhere are unloaded and stored. There is here one of the many

famous taverns of Elizabethan London, the Three Cranes, so called from the cranes employed on the wharf to unload the ships. Not far away at

The Dowgate is the Steelyard which is still Steelyard. in the possession of the Baltic merchants. Their hall is built of stone, with three arched gates towards the street. Their trade is now passing into the hands of English merchants, for good Queen Bess, anxious to increase her people's trade and get it into English hands, has restricted their privileges.

Now that we have seen the wharves we will go on London Bridge itself. This is one of the sights London of the City. It is lined with shops Bridge. and houses on either side, and these give it the appearance of a street rather than of a bridge, and leave but scanty room for the constant procession of carts and passengers on horse and foot who are making use of this, the only bridge across the river. Haberdashers and book-sellers are the principal shopkeepers. The bridge is built on nineteen narrow arches, with a draw-bridge near the centre to allow of the passage of ships above the bridge. There are gates at either end of the bridge. That at the south end is strongly built as a defence to the City, and over it we see the heads of executed traitors, for this is where they are usually exposed.

The shopkeepers live in the houses on the bridge ; indeed, in most cases, the traders still live in their business houses, though the richer merchants are beginning to have country houses with large gardens in the villages around the City.

There are still plenty of gardens, too, within the City, especially towards the north-east. If we visit

one of the houses of the town we shall  
The  
houses  
of the  
citizens. find that much progress has been  
made since the Middle Ages in the  
direction of comfort and convenience.

Your London citizen is growing to be a very important person, proud of his position, and ranking in society next to the nobility and gentry. Indeed, he is continually rising to the rank of gentleman, and many young gentlemen by birth are being apprenticed yearly to important citizens. The nobles now have their residences outside the City walls, and their town houses are being bought and occupied by merchants and traders. The wives of the citizens, too, are very proud of their position, and live and dress accordingly.

The houses are often elaborately carved and painted on the outside. Windows are now part

Inside of all the best houses; their case-  
the houses. ments, filled with little panes of glass in leaden frames, are really picturesque. The famous Goldsmiths' Row, on the south side of Chepe, contains ten dwelling-houses and fourteen shops, all four stories high, with their fronts richly painted and decorated. Inside, the houses generally have at least two good rooms on the ground floor, a large solar above, and probably bedrooms above that. The fittings and furniture are quite in keeping. The walls are covered with arras or tapestry, and even the poor are covering their walls with painted cloths. The floors are still generally covered with rushes, but tiles are

coming into use. Some of the rooms are now panelled with oak, and pictures are also to be seen; for the most part these are painted on wood and are let into the walls as panels. The hall is still the great public apartment, and some of the other rooms are small and dark. The tables are often movable ones on trestles, but fixed tables with leaves, and folding-tables, are being introduced; chairs and benches are made with backs and are covered with cushions and cloths. There are cupboards or sideboards in the halls, and on these the citizens display their gold and silver plate, their pewter and their glass vessels, of which the best are Venetian. The bedrooms have ornate four-post bedsteads, with beautiful hangings, for the master or mistress; and low truckle beds, which can be wheeled under the large bed and pulled out again when necessary, for the use of page or maid. Wardrobes are freely used. The walls are covered with tapestry, and mottoes are hung around them. Feather-beds, coverlets, pillows, and bolsters are now employed. Some of the bedrooms have fireplaces in them. There are strong boxes, ivory coffers, and cypress chests in the bedrooms also, and the merchant keeps his money and valuables there. He has much about him that is valuable, for it is a time when wealth is increasing rapidly, and the London merchant is so placed as to be able to obtain a good share in that wealth by means of his work and trade.

## CHAPTER XXI.

### THE LONDON OF GOOD QUEEN BESS.

#### (ii) IN HOLIDAY MOOD.

THE Londoner of Elizabeth's time enjoyed his periods of holiday and relaxation with the greatest possible zest. He lived in the spacious Games in Tudor times which formed the childhood of London. the modern world ; in many respects he was himself a child who had entered into a " brave new world " of wonder and excitement, and he showed it in his dress and bearing, his sports and his amusements. Most of the old English games were still played, and boys and girls engaged in them as heartily as their predecessors had done. Stool-ball, football, and hockey were common, as were leaping, shooting, wrestling, and casting the stone. Tennis was becoming very popular among the gentry and nobility. There were still the usual games of skill on horseback, the sham battle, the tilting at the quintain, and other games with the lance. Young men still tilted at one another from boats in the Thames, and in winter there was plenty of skating, though it was now looked upon rather as a sport for boys and girls. Even the gravest of the citizens found

delight in hawking and hunting in the fields to the north of the City wall. Dancing was freely indulged in, and many new dances were introduced, such as the solemn pavane, the galliard, coranto, lavolta, jig, and hey. But the older English dances also kept their place, especially those associated with popular festivals, such as the morris dances on May-day. There was often dancing and music in the streets ; men and boys went the round of the taverns as singers ; fiddlers were to be found in street and tavern ; ballad singers sang and sold copies of their ballads in the streets ; there was much good bell-ringing from the many excellent peals of church bells. The people were fond of outdoor life. On summer evenings they would bring out their tables into the sidewalks and pathways and have their supper in public, and it was fashionable at dinner to serve the last course, known as the banquet and consisting of cakes and fruit, in a summer house in the garden.

Many contemporary authors lament the decay of archery. The long bow was passing out of use, and the old weekly practice in archery. shooting was no longer kept up. Some people blamed the richer citizens, who were enclosing more and more of the open fields to the north of the City. Many attempts were made to restore the use of the long bow ; shooting matches were arranged at the butts in Finsbury Fields and prizes awarded. The cleverest archers had titles given to them ; one great shot was known as the Duke of Shoreditch, others as Marquis of

Hoxton or Earl of Pancras ; and with their followers these men made a great show as they marched through the City to the archery grounds. But in spite of these efforts to revive the use of the bow archery languished, and its place was taken by games of less noble type. The ale-houses now had their bowling alleys ; gambling, dicing, card-playing, and, to some extent, horse-racing were all coming into vogue, and there was much cheating and quarrelling. Lotteries, too, were being introduced ; the drawings for the first took place in St. Paul's Churchyard in 1569 ; the money obtained was used for the repair of the national harbours.

Pageants and disguisings, masks and mummings were never more popular. The Londoner was

Love of passionately fond of show. He decorated his house-front upon the slightest provocation ; he planned and developed a spectacle as often as occasion arose. A visit of the queen to the City ; news of victory ; a Lord Mayor's day, or other civic function ; a wedding or a funeral—all alike were utilised for these purposes. The queen herself delighted in such pageants, and went freely on progresses among her people. Londoners loved their Virgin Queen, and she was sure of a hearty greeting whenever she came among them.

A Royal When the queen passed through the progress. City on her way from the Tower to the palace of Westminster the day before her coronation, a royal welcome was given her. Her train contained many of the gentlemen, barons, and other nobility of the realm with a large number

of richly clad ladies. In Fenchurch Street she was welcomed on the City's behalf by a boy who recited verses in her honour. At the end of Cornhill the pageant took the form of a representation of Elizabeth seated upon the throne of government, which was supported by virtues treading their contrary vices under their feet. The virtues were Pure Religion, Love of Subjects, Wisdom, and Justice, and the whole pageant was entitled "The Seat of Worthy Governance." In Cheapside, Time came forward leading Truth, the daughter of Time, who gave to the queen a copy of the Bible, the word of Truth. In Fleet Street was Deborah, judge and restorer of Israel, seated under a palm tree, consulting with her estates for the good government of Israel, the estates consisting of six persons who represented the nobility, the clergy, and the commons. Finally, at Temple Bar were the images of the giants of London story, Gogmagog and Corineus, supporting a table of verses which summed up and pointed the moral of all the pageants the queen had seen during her journey through the City.

The same love of show was visible in the dresses of the people. These were very gay in appearance and of the best material. The older, convenient, plain, and tightly fitting garments gave place to more elaborate ones. The narrow linen collar became a large ruff—a huge linen or lace collar projecting some quarter of a yard from the neck all round, and stiffened with the starch newly introduced from Holland. Sometimes, too, the ruffs were richly



decorated with gold or silver lace or, possibly, with jewels. The women wore tightly fitting bodices with a long V-shaped front, open at the top, and showing a dainty stomacher beneath. Their velvet gowns were stretched upon big hoop-like frameworks of wire called farthingales, and the outer skirt was looped back to display the silk or satin petticoat. The dresses were padded and stuffed so thickly that they would stand alone without their wearers, and were trimmed with gold thread, beads, and sometimes with pearls or even with diamonds and other precious stones. The men wore short breeches which were also very much padded; their doublets were no longer plain and closely fitting, but puffed and stuffed and slashed, that is, the outer material was pierced to show the costly silk or other lining beneath. Over all was a cloak of silk or velvet. Shoes had high heels, and were decorated with rosettes and ribbons; the high boots of the period had falling tops often decorated with lace. The women wore their hair in high masses on the tops of their heads, and dyed it to suit the dress they were wearing; it was curled and frizzled in most remarkable ways, and decorated with flowers and jewels. The men affected long curls and beards of peculiar cut, pointed or fan-shaped, or cut to resemble the letter T. They wore also large silk or velvet hats with long feathers in them, and used them gracefully enough to aid their sweeping bows.

The public holidays were carefully observed. At Christmas the houses and churches were decked with ivy, bays, holly, and other evergreens. The

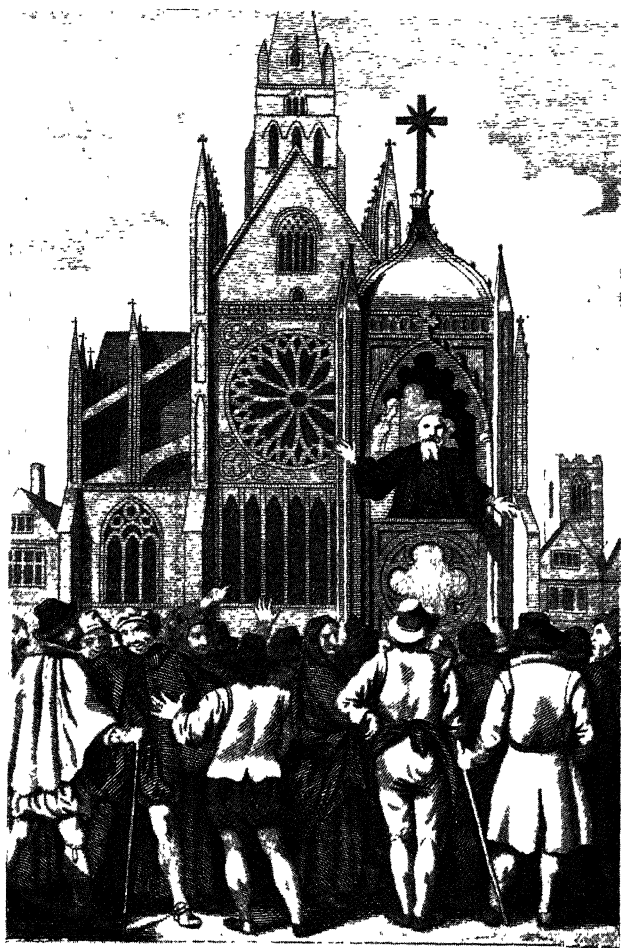
conduits and standards in the streets were likewise garnished. Among the nobles and richer citizens the control of the house was handed over to a *Lord of misrule*, who was allowed full sway for twelve days, and during this period the whole household was given up to mirth and sport. May-day was still observed as a popular holiday. All who could do so went out early in the morning into the meadows and woods and brought back the may and other flowers, and green branches of trees with which to deck their houses. Unfortunately disturbances on this public holiday, and especially the rioting on Evil May Day, 1517, had interfered with the full observance of this custom; it was further seriously impaired by the fact that the citizens were becoming strongly Puritan. The great shaft or maypole of Cornhill, usually set up near the church of St. Andrew Undershaft in Aldgate, was never again erected after 1517; in 1550 it was destroyed by the people after it had been denounced as an idol by a preacher at St. Paul's Cross. The vigils of St. John the Baptist and of St. Peter and St. Paul were honoured with bonfires in the streets and with houses decorated with flowers and garlands. The afternoon of St. Bartholomew's Day was devoted to wrestling, and there was some archery practice on the three or four succeeding days.

Sermons were becoming very popular in Protestant London, and outdoor pulpits were provided. One of these was in the churchyard of St. Mary Spital, outside Bishopsgate, another at Paul's Cross

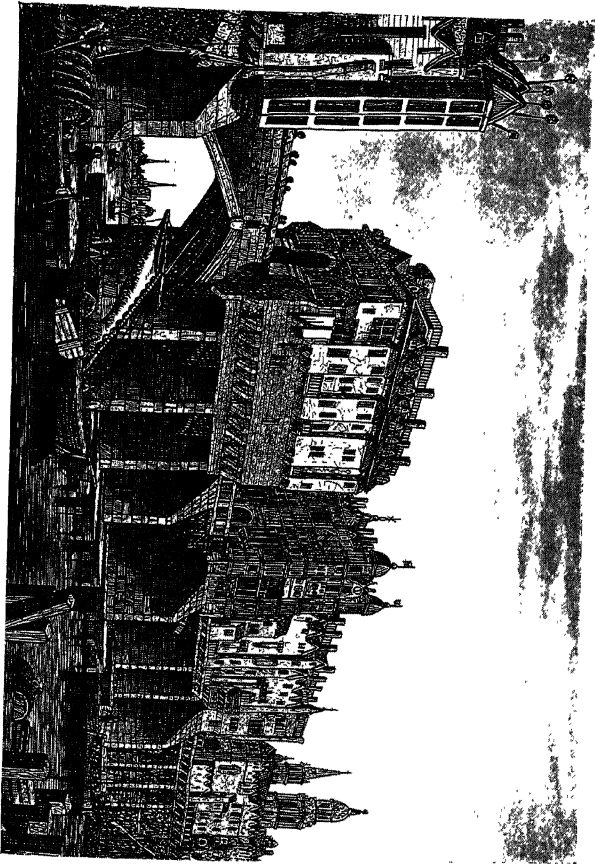
in St. Paul's Churchyard. It was customary for some learned divine to preach a sermon treating of Christ's passion at Paul's Cross on Good Friday afternoon, and then in the mornings of the Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday following, sermons on the resurrection were preached at St. Mary Spital. Finally, on the Sunday after Easter, another divine commented at Paul's Cross upon the four sermons already delivered, and added a fifth sermon of his own. The mayor and aldermen were present on these occasions with their wives; and bishops, clergy, lords, and ladies also attended. There was a sermon from Paul's Cross every forenoon, and it was considered one of the important events of the week. This pulpit was also the place for public announcements of all kinds.

If no other function was available the people turned to the public punishments and executions which were all too common, and sought excitement and enjoyment in the sufferings of their unfortunate fellow-men. Ladies frequented the scenes on such occasions. Between 1563 and 1586 there were sixty-four public executions, at which two hundred and twenty-eight persons suffered death, besides the manifold maimings, whippings, and brandings, and the everyday use of the pillory and stocks for petty offenders, and the ducking stool for scolds.

Many countrymen and foreigners visited London to see the sights. One of the most famous of these was the old Gothic cathedral of St. Paul's, which was destroyed by the Great Fire of 1666.



PREACHING AT PAUL'S CROSS IN THE DAYS OF ELIZABETH.  
The Cathedral is Old St. Paul's, the Gothic edifice destroyed by fire in 1666.



LONDON BRIDGE IN THE DAYS OF ELIZABETH.

In Elizabeth's time the church was a public thoroughfare and meeting-place rather than a sanctuary. The choir alone was used for purposes of worship; the rest of the church was traversed continuously by porters, hucksters, and pedlars, who carried their loads across the transepts, and even lingered within its portals to sell their wares. Certain columns in the aisles were recognised spots for different traders; at one the moneylender stood, at another the tailor showed his goods and took his orders, at another the merchants met, at another was the scrivener who would write letters for those unable to do so for themselves, elsewhere servants could be hired. The young gallants used the nave as a meeting-place and promenade in which they could show their fine dresses to good advantage. Many people came to hear the famous organ and the anthems which were beautifully rendered; many admired the view of London from its tower, the steeple of which had been destroyed by fire in 1561 and was never replaced.

Another famous sight was the Tower, which was used as a State prison and a mint. Here was London's zoological garden, founded by Henry III., and containing three lionesses, a lion of great size, called Edward VI. from his having been born in that reign, a tiger, a lynx, and a very old wolf. Londoners were very fond of animals. Harry Huncks and Sackerson were famous bears who had survived several baitings, and many Londoners

wept when they heard that Banks and his famous horse, Morocco, had both been burned in Italy as sorcerers, for Morocco had often delighted them with his tricks; he could dance to music, count, and answer questions—rumour had it that he had climbed the steeple of St. Paul's. For these were days of wonders. There were conjurers and street jugglers, fire-eaters, and rope dancers shows; at the corners of the streets; Fleet Street had its puppet shows and wax-works. It is not without reason that Shakespeare laughs at the readiness with which Englishmen parted with their silver to see anything new or strange.

Other places visited included the Royal Exchange and London Bridge. The river was a pleasure resort used by all classes; the citizen Thames. took out his wife and children for a row; the 'prentice took his sweetheart; the nobility had their gilded state barges with awnings and curtains, and musicians who played accompaniments to the singing of the ladies. At certain states of the tide the passage under the bridge was not without danger. The numerous piers supporting the arches, and the stout timber frames placed around them to strengthen them, held back the tide, so that there was a drop of several feet in the water. "Shooting the rapids" became a sport for the venturesome; more sober people either waited until the tide was safe, or landed at one of the piers, walked under the bridge, and took a fresh boat on the other side.

After seeing the sights one could dine at a tavern

or *ordinary*. This latter word, used originally to denote a meal for which a fixed sum was paid, was now coming into use to denote any tavern or eating-

house where such meals were served. To dine at an *ordinary* was very fashionable, and there was a wide range of prices to suit all comers. For a shilling or eighteenpence a good dinner was available at certain hours of the day ; roast beef and vegetables, roast capons and ducks, and cakes and fruit. Beer or wine was an extra. The taverns were very popular resorts, and some of them were famous meeting-places whose names have come down to us ; the Mermaid in Cornhill, frequented by Ben Jonson and his followers ; the Mitre in Chepe ; the Boar's Head in Eastcheap, the haunt of Falstaff ; and the Falcon on Bankside, the resort of actors and playwrights. Drinking was a common vice of the time ; in 1574 there were over 1300 taverns in Middlesex and Surrey, and most of these would be in London itself. No fewer than eighty-six varieties of wine were imported, and the common people drank ale, beer, and cider. The best of the hostelrys were places where good lodging and refreshment could be obtained ; the worst were the haunts of card-sharpers and dicers, and worse. Tobacco was obtainable at most of

the taverns. It had been first introduced by Hawkins in 1565, but its popularity was probably due to Raleigh. It sold at about three shillings and sixpence an ounce, and several smokers shared in one pipeful. At certain ale-houses it was possible to get the



loan of a pipe and pipeful of tobacco for three-pence.

A visit to the theatre was one of the most popular ways of spending an afternoon. Nothing is more

The remarkable in the London life of Elizabethan theatres; beth's reign than the rapid development of that institution. Dramatic representations were brought to a high state of perfection by the writings of Shakespeare and Jonson, and the acting of Alleyn, Tarleton, and Burbage. At first theatrical representations had taken place in the inn-yards; the old-fashioned inns, built around a central courtyard with galleries admitting to the rooms on each floor, proving a useful place in which to stage plays. Many good performances had been gone through at the Bull Inn, Bishopsgate, the Belle Sauvage, Ludgate Hill, and elsewhere in the City. But after 1576 theatres were built which followed somewhat the inn-yard model; their prosperity may be gauged from the fact that in less than twenty years there were five such theatres producing plays for the benefit of the public; besides representations in private by companies associated with the queen, the nobility, or the members of the Inns of Court.

The theatres were not within the City itself, for the Puritan city fathers looked upon them where built; with suspicion as the haunts of thieves and pickpockets, and the spreaders of plague and disease. Hence the theatres were erected on the outskirts of the City, on ground outside the City's jurisdiction. The first, the

*Theatre*, was near Holywell Priory in Finsbury Fields; the second, the *Curtain*, was also on the north side of the river not far from the *Theatre*. Then Bankside on the Surrey side, already well known to pleasure-lovers from its bear-gardens and pleasure houses, became the headquarters of the actors, and the *Globe*, the *Swan*, and the *Rose* were built there. Notices of the performances were posted in different parts of the City, especially in the booksellers' shops. The people who went to see the play could cross the river by boat from St. Paul's stairs or some other public landing-place, or could walk or ride across by way of London Bridge.

The inside of the theatre suggested something of the inn-yard upon which it was based. Round <sup>general</sup> the sides were galleries in three or more appearance; tiers, the lowest divided into compartments called rooms. These galleries and most of the stage were covered in; the central portion of the theatre, the pit where the "groundlings" stood to watch the play, was open to the sky, and performances might have to be suspended in bad weather. If a performance was intended, a flag was hoisted above the theatre as a signal. The stage was at one end; it occupied something like a quarter of the ground area, and projected into the arena. Twopence was a usual <sup>charge</sup> <sup>for</sup> charge for admission, with extra <sup>admission.</sup> payments of sixpence or a shilling for a room, or for a place upon the stage, where the young gallant was allowed a seat if he cared to have it. Before the play commenced the audience

occupied the time in drinking beer and eating nuts and fruit, or in bandying words with the gallants on the stage or the audience; pants of the rooms. There was much noise and rough horseplay, and fights were not unknown. As the time of starting approached there was a flourish of trumpets; and the third such flourish was the signal for the play to begin. A youth in a long black velvet cloak recited the prologue and the play commenced. There was little scenery, changes of place and time were announced by printed placards, which were displayed upon the stage. The play concluded with an epilogue, and might be followed by singing and dancing and sometimes by rude clowning. At the close of the whole performance the players offered up a prayer for the Queen's Majesty, and the audience dispersed to get back to their homes before it was dark, or to visit one of the taverns on Bankside. The audience was composed chiefly of men; women who attended were often masked. In Shakespeare's time the women's parts were always played by boys.

There were also other performances at private theatres or the halls of the Inns of Court and elsewhere. Evening performances were possible at these, and it was in such places that the queen and court patronised the play. At these representations masques were very popular, and were sometimes performed under the supervision of the Lord of Misrule, whose rougher entertainments they tended to supersede. Starting first as simple plays with masked per-

formers, they became more elaborate and carefully staged representations, in which great attention was paid to singing and dancing, and to scenery and scenic effects. They were highly popular in the time of the early Stuarts, when much money was spent upon their production.

## CHAPTER XXII.

### SHAKESPEARE AND HIS CONTEMPORARIES.

THE abiding glory of the English Renaissance is the remarkable outburst of literary activity which Elizabethan marked the later years of Elizabeth's reign, and continued throughout that of her successor, James I. Many things contributed to this wonderful awakening from the dullness and comparative silence of the preceding century and a half. Those years had been years of danger, at first the danger of civil strife, then the danger of foreign invasion; and it was not until these dangers had been removed that England's poets could sing once more as Chaucer and his fellows had sung. The years of prosperity which followed Elizabeth's accession led to a feeling of security in her fostering care which culminated, with the defeat of the Spanish Armada, in a recognition that England was indeed a power in Europe whose destiny it was to rule the seas and to share in the development of the western world.

Once this recognition had been obtained the adventurous spirit of the age found its adherents in literature as well as in the icy Arctic seas or on the Spanish main. Writers adventured in the realm of literature, explored forgotten tracts of verse and prose, ransacked the literary treasures

of past ages, and invented new forms of expression, while the older ones in many cases passed away or were transformed into new ones under the genius of the adventurer. England was alive and energetic, confident of its powers, filled with thought and feeling. Self-expression and self-reliance were marks of the age, though at the same time it was an age of child-like faith and receptivity. The middle and upper classes poured forth a stream of literature which is truly wonderful in its variety, in the profusion of its imagery, in its remarkable power of self-assertion and self-expression, in the great quantity of it not less than in the amount of it which is really valuable.

The introduction of printing had made it possible for writers to appeal to a wider audience, the increase in population and the growth of a wealthy nobility and a vigorous and leisured middle class had provided that audience. The successes of English statesmen, explorers, and adventurers had filled the people with a spirit of intense patriotism, a zealous belief in England and in all things English. Hence there was ample incentive to production ; and all classes of the community responded to the call. The total output of the preceding reigns had been but small. Sir Thomas More had written in Latin his immortal satire, *Utopia*, and some other work besides. Latimer and other bishops were responsible for a number of sermons, of which Latimer's are still read for their racy humour and their glimpses of

contemporary life. More important still was the fact that Tyndale, Coverdale, and Cranmer, by their various editions of the Bible, were preparing the ground for the authorised version of 1611;

Wyatt while the poetry of Sir Thomas Wyatt and Surrey; and the Earl of Surrey was pointing the way to the glories that were to follow. Even the earlier years of Elizabeth's reign have little to

show except the work of her tutor Ascham. Roger Ascham, who writes in his *Scholemaster* on the best methods of teaching Latin, and laments the decay of the bow as an English weapon in his *Toxophilus*.

It was not until Elizabeth had been twenty years upon the throne that the impulse came which resulted in the production of Spenser's *Shepherd's Calendar*; perhaps the greatest set of literary performances the world has ever known.

The first of these, the herald of the many that were to follow it, was the *Shepherd's Calendar* of Edmund Spenser, published in 1579. This showed the influence of classical and especially of Renaissance models, but it showed also that Spenser had been reading Chaucer, and its twelve pastoral eclogues, one for each month of the year, contain a variety of metres and a command of language which augur well for the immediate future of English poetry. From this time until his death Spenser enjoyed the patronage of Leicester, Sidney, and Raleigh and continued to produce poetry of many kinds: in fact, almost all the forms of expression, except the dramatic, to be found in the literature of the time are attempted by him. But all his other

work is overshadowed by his unfinished *Faery Queene*, which is quite characteristically the product of the age in its Puritan feeling, its glowing patriotism, the fulness of its allegory, and its choice of subject, for it harks back to that Arthur and his knights of whom so many English poets have sung. Spenser's especial glory is the magic of his verse, the beauty of which has made him for all time the poet's poet.

For the age in which he lived had indeed become a poet's age. Everybody with any pretension to

The poetic education was writing poetry. Song miscellanies seemed to be the natural mode of expression. Very many wrote only for their own pleasure and for that of their friends, and not with any idea of publication. Copies in manuscript were passed from hand to hand and from house to house. Readers began to make collections of them; some poems indeed have only been preserved to us in this way, many were lost. Finally, enterprising booksellers began to print some of these poems in miscellanies and collections, frequently without the author's permission, sometimes with the name of some well-known author on the title-page even though his works were not to be found within. Such collections were very popular, and found a place on every bookseller's stall under such pretty titles as *The Paradise of Dainty Devises*, *A Handful of Pleasant Delites*, or *A Gorgeous Gallery of Gallant Inventions*.

This power of writing lyrical poetry was widespread. It is impossible to give illustrations of it here, but every reader should turn to some an-



thology of verse such as the *Poet's Realm* and find examples for himself. One of the most popular

Sonnets forms of expression was the sonnet. and lyrics. Towards the end of the century many of the poets wrote series of love sonnets expressing their passionate attachment to one or more ladies : Spenser's *Amoretti* were in honour of the lady who became his wife ; the source of inspiration of Shakespeare's sonnets is still a matter of dispute. The lyrical impulse, too, was continued throughout the reigns of James I. and his son, gaining in prettiness and poetic exactness what it was losing in passion and in vigour, and becoming more and more tinged with melancholy as the years passed by. Narrative poems on classical subjects were also popular : Marlowe wrote of the love of *Hero and Leander* ; Shakespeare of *Lucrece* and of *Venus and Adonis*. Many patriotic poems and ballads celebrated England and England's heroes both past and present, and topical poems dealt with the expeditions going to Spain and the Spanish main, and with the defeat of the Armada.

Nor were prose writers wanting, although the prose of this period did not reach the state of perfection to which the verse attained, and we find little of those qualities of clearness, plainness, and directness which were to make later English prose remarkable. Yet much good work was done in preparation for that later time. The desire to write in English, and the increased interest in all things classical, combined to produce a host of translators from Elizabeth downwards,

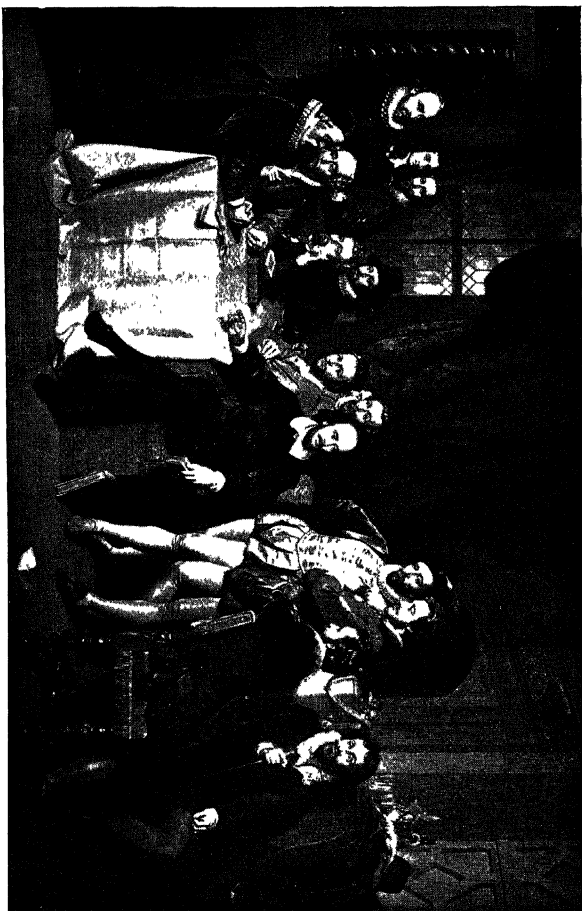
Prose  
writers  
and  
translators.

who worked hard at the production of translations from Latin, Greek, French, Italian, and Spanish, and gave to their countrymen, in many cases, lasting versions of important works, such as Chapman's verse translations of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*; North's translation of *Plutarch's Lives*, which furnished Shakespeare with the material for his Roman plays; and Florio's *Montaigne*, which introduced the essay to English readers and writers. Translators, indeed, had been at work before Elizabeth ascended the throne, and now almost all the famous writers of antiquity could be read in translations, which were generally very free renderings of the originals, and sometimes were obtained from French or Italian versions, as in the *Lives* of Plutarch, which North translated from a French source. Other writers translated or adapted romances from Spanish and French, and especially from Italian sources, a step in the development of the English novel. Others again wrote romances of a more original kind. Of these the most important were Lyly's *Euphues* and *Euphues and his England*, two books which had a very great influence upon Elizabethan prose. Even Sir Philip Sidney used a portion of his leisure to compose a romance which he entitled *Arcadia*.

Some of these writers were also pamphleteers, and shared in the wordy warfare of the time. Various subjects came under discussion, the most important being the religious difficulties which were dividing Puritan from High Churchman. Scurrilous abuse is a marked feature of these.

The dramatists are enlisted on the side of the bishops, the Puritan cause is upheld by a number of writers who sign themselves Martin Marprelate. Others again introduce us to the worse side of London life, its haunts of vice, its rogues and vagabonds, sometimes in autobiographical sketches which are almost romantic novels and bear little of the hall-mark of truth. Travellers, too, recounted their experiences on the Continent for the benefit of those who had stayed in England, and found much to admire abroad and much to find fault with at home.

Others displayed an interest in their own land and its past history, and much care was employed Historical in the production of English annals chroniclers. and chronicles, histories, and descriptions of England and its heroes. All alike wrote in honour of their native land. Some followed the lead of Leland in the reign of Henry VIII., and attempted topographical descriptions of the country or of parts of it ; others compiled long accounts of its past in the form of chronicles, sometimes in verse. The chronicles of Hall and Holinshed have the distinction of having furnished Shakespeare with much of his knowledge of English history. Not content with a history of his own land, Sir Walter Raleigh attempted a *History of the World*, beginning at the Creation, and reaching down to his own times, though he only succeeded in writing a small portion of this. Richard Hakluyt worthily commemorated the deeds of the English adventurers in a prose epic of their *Voyages and Travels*, to which he devoted



SHAKESPEARE AND HIS CONTEMPORARIES.  
*(From the painting by Thomas Faed, R.S.A.)*



his life, after he had heard the English condemned for sluggishness and lack of enterprise. The celebrated philosopher, Francis Bacon, wrote much prose of a very high order in his *Essays*, his *History of the Reign of Henry VII.* and his *Advancement of Learning*; while the crowning glory of Elizabethan prose is the *Authorised Version of the Bible*, the work of a company of divines, who made good use both of their originals and also of the work of previous translators from Wyclif onward.

But of all the products of the many-sided literary activities of the Elizabethan age, the dramas of Shakespeare and his contemporaries are the greatest. There had developed from the older miracle plays first the Morality, which attempted to teach the people by placing upon the stage personifications of the vices and virtues; and next the Interlude, which gave greater scope to satire and farcical situations. Both these forms furnished opportunities for less abstract characters, and for greater freedom of action than had been possible in the miracle plays; and the Interlude, with its lighter tone and its satirical dialogue, became very popular in the court of Henry VIII. This court also delighted in entertainments by masked players, who performed their parts in dumb show, and added to the effect produced by wearing beautiful dresses, and by using scenery, dancing, and music. The earlier forms lasted well into the reign of Elizabeth, so that Shakespeare's audiences were acquainted with

Develop-  
ment  
of the  
drama.

the boastings of Herod, the follies of the vice, and the roarings of the devil in the older plays. It was an easy step from such plays to others which should replace abstract personifications by historical and other characters, who should represent in their persons the virtues or vices which were intended to form the subject-matter of the plays; and the step was rendered still easier by the translations of Seneca and other classical dramatists, which were now becoming frequent. Hence it is not surprising to find that our first English tragedy, *Gorboduc*, is written in the classical form, though

Early its subject-matter is English; while  
 plays. the first English comedy, *Ralph Roister Doister*, and its successor, *Gammer Gurton's Needle*, show the influence of the Interlude.

But though these early efforts almost coincide with the accession of Elizabeth, the queen had

The been some twenty years upon the  
 actors. throne before any great developments in dramatic literature took place. In the meantime there had been a constant succession of plays performed, and the people generally were becoming accustomed to the drama by performances which took place in inn-yards and elsewhere. The actors were companies of strolling players whom the authorities classed among the vagrants and sturdy beggars. Some of the companies, however, were able to avoid this reproach by placing themselves under the protection of a nobleman, for the nobility were now replacing their minstrels and jesters by actors who could help in the masques and revels of holiday times. Hence, even when

the profession of actor was sufficiently established to enable actors to stand alone, they still placed themselves under the protection of some nobleman, and were spoken of as the Earl of Leicester's servants, the Lord Chamberlain's servants, and so on. When the demand for plays became common, and all classes of people were anxious to see them, theatres were built, and London was able to boast of as many theatres as all the other capitals of Europe combined.

With such opportunities, and with such a demand for performances, it is not surprising that there were

Shakes- many dramatists at work. Between  
peare's 1580 and 1595 these writers were  
predecessors. chiefly young men from the universities who were fond of showing their classical knowledge in their works. All of them, if we may believe their biographies and, in some cases, their own accounts of their lives, were of gay and dissolute life ; most of them died while still young men. But in their short lifetime several gained great reputations not only as dramatists but also as lyrical poets and as novelists and pamphleteers. Shakespeare was probably engaged at first in revising some of their plays so as to bring them up to date, and it was from them and their works that he took his first lessons in the dramatic art, though he also owed much to his association with the stage as an actor.

The greatest of these "University wits" was Christopher Marlowe, who wrote tragedy of the bombastic type in his *Tamburlaine*, *Doctor Faustus*, and *Jew of Malta*, and has the distinction of being



the first poet to make full use of blank verse as his medium. Others of his school are Thomas Kyd, who can outdo all in heaping up horrors; Robert Greene and George Peele, who write verse of great sweetness and smoothness; and John Lyly, whose *Euphues* has been already mentioned. Lyly wrote plays especially for the court and not for the populace; in them he showed how to make good use of prose and how to gain a good effect by brisk and lively dialogue. But all are poets rather than dramatists, and lack the ability to fit their plays perfectly for stage production.

Shakespeare, with his "small Latin and less Greek," was the successor of these university men, and associated with them both as actor and as playwright. But he brought to his work a more perfect stage-craft and a finer poetry than they had possessed, and in his hands the English drama rose to heights which they had never reached. After an apprenticeship spent in remodelling older plays, Shakespeare turned to light and frolicsome comedy and farce, and produced such works as *Love's Labour's Lost* and the *Comedy of Errors*. From these he passed to the *Midsummer Night's Dream*, a marvellous mixture of classical legend, fairy-tale, and contemporary English life, and so to love tales which become tragic in *Romeo and Juliet*. At the same time he was engaged in a series of historical plays which the patriotic spirit of the time demanded, and he gave to his audience a dozen chronicles of English history from the

days of *King John* to those of *Henry VIII*. These he enlivened with such masterly, if fictitious, characters as Falstaff and the Bastard Fauconbridge. But before the series was completed he had passed on to his most famous comedies, the *Merchant of Venice*, *As You Like It*, *Much Ado about Nothing*, and *Twelfth Night*, with their mixture of humour and tender love and sometimes of more tragic matters, though all comes right in the end. From these he moved by way of his *Measure for Measure* to greater depths of tragedy than he had ever sounded before, and gave his audiences the terrible spectacle of a *Hamlet*, whose irresolution and inability to act at need bring ruin on himself and all around him; an *Othello*, whose guileless innocence is ensnared by jealousy; *Lear*, the victim of his own pride and wilfulness; and *Macbeth*, whose "vaulting ambition did o'erreach itself." Coupled with these was a series of tales of Roman history taken mainly from Plutarch, but containing much Tudor thought and feeling, and dealing with such important personages as *Coriolanus*, *Julius Cæsar*, and *Anthony and Cleopatra*. Finally, he came to a happy blending of comedy and tragedy which we may call romance, and closed his career as a writer with romantic plays such as *The Tempest* and *The Winter's Tale*. It was indeed a wonderful work which he had crowded within the space of little more than twenty years; and it has remained until now the crowning achievement of English literature.

Yet Shakespeare's plays are only a few of the many dramas of his time, and we have reason to

believe that they were by no means the most popular of the dramatic representations then produced. One of the most popular playwrights of his day was rare Ben Jonson, who gives us vivid pictures of the manners and customs of the Englishmen of his time, showing us *Every Man in his Humour* and *Out of it*, and drawing remarkable pictures of the worst side of Puritanism in his *Bartholomew Fair*; of avarice in *Volpone*; of knavery in the *Alchemist*; and of misanthropic folly in *The Silent Woman*. Jonson, too, was a classical scholar of no mean order, and wrote Roman plays of a very different type from Shakespeare's. He was also employed with Inigo Jones in the production of masques, a very popular form of dramatic entertainment at the Stuart court, and one on which large sums of money were spent. These masques now combined dialogue and music with spectacular effects; songs were freely introduced, and dances were an important part of the spectacle. There was little plot or development of character in the plays, they were splendid shows or pageants rather than dramas; but there was plenty of scope for the architect in the scenic effects, which were often produced by the aid of machinery; for the painter in the elaborate scenery employed; for the musician in the songs and dances which were liberally interspersed; and for the writer in the songs and dialogue by which the action was developed. Jonson shared in the production of about forty of these masques, and gave of his best in writing them.

Many other writers also produced dramatic work. Of these the most important were and Beaumont and Fletcher, whose happy successors. literary partnership was dissolved by the early death of Beaumont in 1616. Their joint work and the plays written by Fletcher alone after Beaumont's death were chiefly romantic comedies or tragedies of the type introduced by Shakespeare, and these enjoyed a remarkable popularity during their authors' lifetime. Other busy writers were George Chapman, the translator of Homer, who excelled in historical plays with subject-matter drawn from contemporary affairs in France ; and Thomas Dekker, who worked hard for forty years in various branches of literature, and has left us some realistic pictures of the life of his time. But the later dramatists are not of the same class as the earlier ones ; and when they excel it is in some particular scene or situation rather than in a play as a whole. Yet their dramas contain some notable characters and many striking passages, which may be read in the selection of them made by Charles Lamb. They carried on the Elizabethan tradition with diminishing success until the decaying drama was brought to an abrupt termination by the closing of the theatres when the Puritans came into power in 1642.

## CHAPTER XXIII.

### TROUBLES AT HOME.

#### THE CONSTITUTIONAL PROBLEM AND ITS SETTLEMENT.

THE progress towards parliamentary government and control which Englishmen had been making during the Middle Ages was checked by the period of absolute rule which marked the early days of modern England. Under Edward IV. and the Tudor sovereigns England passed through a period of government in which parliament became the subservient tool of the king and his ministers, and was therefore, for the most part, a thing of little count. Yet this reaction was by no means an unmixed evil. A strong king was able to give unity to the nation, to clear away for ever the petty jealousies and local differences of various parts of the country, to bring the corporate towns definitely into line with the rest of the nation, and, above all, to crush the lawless power of the feudal nobles, and stop for ever disastrous feudal wars, such as those of the Roses.

To do this was a matter of even greater importance upon the Continent than in England, where the feeling of nationality had been fostered

for many years by our insular position, and by the wars with France. But England also could derive many advantages from a strong centralised control such as Henry VII. knew cunningly how to wield ; though all this absolute rule depended upon the willingness of subjects to suffer it, and the Tudors were much too clever to destroy a parliament which they could mould to their wishes and use for their own purposes. The country was ruled by the King in Council, and capable ministers were chosen by the sovereign from the middle or lower classes rather than from the nobility. These ministers depended for their position upon the king's favour and served him well, though they were at all times subject to the danger of being sacrificed by him as scapegoats in response to public opinion. It is characteristic of the Tudor rulers that their choice of servants of this kind is exceedingly good. Morton in the reign of Henry VII., Wolsey and Cromwell under Henry VIII., Pole under Mary, Cecil and Walsingham under Elizabeth, were all capable administrators.

Many causes combined to render the English people willing to accept the despotism to which they were subjected. In the first place they were tired of war, and craved for peace in order that they might enjoy that prosperity which cannot come without peace. And, if we except the foolish continental quarrels of the youth of Henry VIII., the Tudors gave their people peace. With peace came prosperity. Commerce increased ; new

England  
under  
absolute  
rulers.

Why the  
English  
acquiesced  
in  
despotism.

markets were opened abroad ; industries flourished at home ; taxation was comparatively light ; the middle classes prospered and increased in numbers. There remained, however, for many years, a danger of invasion from without. France and Spain, the great nations of Europe, might at any time attack England ; and the English people were therefore willing to submit to something of arbitrary rule if it would ensure them freedom from invasion. Moreover, this arbitrary rule was wielded by a line of monarchs who were very popular, and were much too wise to disregard the feelings of their subjects or run counter to them. Even in their worst acts of oppression they were very careful to follow the path of legality and parliamentary government, and it was unnecessary in most cases to act without parliament, because parliament was usually willing to vote as they desired. Under their rule England became a power in Europe. The doctrine of the Balance of Power, which had been developed by Wolsey in his country's interests, gave her a place of some importance in continental affairs, and she moved forward with an ever-increasing confidence in her own powers and her own destiny, until she was able, in 1588, to withstand the full force of Spanish attack and gain one of the greatest of her many naval victories.

Defeat  
of the  
Spanish  
Armada,  
1588.

When the dread of invasion had passed away, the old constitutional spirit began to reassert itself. The prosperity of the middle classes led them to demand a greater share in the government of the country. Parliament, which had been

for so many years content merely to register the kingly decrees, now began to criticise existing methods, and showed a desire to play a greater part in government. The increased interest taken in the past history of the race led parliament to desire the rights and privileges it had enjoyed in the more normal times of the later Plantagenets, when parliamentary control had strengthened in many directions. And the very rule of the Tudors helped here. The discipline to which the nation had been subjected, and the success which had attended it, had created a strong sense of national importance. The spirit of the nation was unbroken. Some of the most important changes had taken place under parliamentary direction, in form at any rate. The breach with Rome and the establishment of the king as the head of the Church had been accomplished by constitutional means. As much as was possible parliament had been made responsible for taxation. Some of the most unconstitutional of the royal acts had been tacitly acknowledged illegal by requests to parliament to grant indemnity for them.

There were, however, many ways in which the Tudors had strained their rights. The control of taxation, for which parliament had struggled for so many years, had been taken from it on many occasions. The Tudor breaches of the constitution. Tudor kings too had been fortunate in obtaining money in other ways, and sometimes, by exercising strict economy, had managed to



escape the necessity of asking parliament for supplies. The fines inflicted upon the Yorkists swelled the treasure amassed by Henry VII.; the spoils of the monasteries helped to pay for the follies of his spendthrift son; the plunder of the gilds was the work of the council of Edward VI. But there were also many unconstitutional methods by which money could be obtained. Rich subjects could be bled by means of benevolences. Benevolences. —money given to the sovereign under compulsion, but supposed to be given freely—and by forced loans, which the subject Forced loans. was compelled to lend but did not always get repaid. The commercial classes were reached by monopolies which gave to favoured individuals the sole right of trading in certain articles, and by impositions, Impositions. that is, additional duties upon imports levied by the sovereign without parliamentary consent. This question of customs duties was a very difficult one; even Plantagenet parliaments had not been able to restrict the royal control over them. Tunnage and poundage had been regularly granted by parliament since 1373, and with the increasing power of the Crown the sovereign attempted to benefit from the growing trade by exacting additional duties.

Again much had been done by mediæval parliaments to gain complete control over legislation, and they had established the principle that their consent was necessary in the making of laws. But the Tudors were able to evade this by issuing proclamations which came to have the force of

laws. In some cases, it is true, they obtained from subsequent parliaments a legalisation of their proclamations and ordinances, but not always, and yet some of them included the right of punishment by imprisonment and even by death. Parliamentary representation was interfered with. The

Interference  
with parlia-  
mentary  
repre-  
sentation.

House of Commons was packed with nominees of the Crown; new boroughs were created, many of them places with but little right to representation, in order that representatives might be returned who would support the policy of the Crown. In the reign of Edward VI. ten older boroughs had their membership revived, and fourteen new boroughs were formed. Several more were created by Mary, while Elizabeth was responsible for the revival of seventeen and the creation of twenty-four more. Parliament also lost that frequency and regularity of meeting which had become customary under earlier rulers. Henry VIII. governed

Government  
without a  
parliament.

without a parliament from 1523 to 1529; Elizabeth only called together fifteen parliaments in the forty-five years of her reign. On one occasion she allowed five years to pass without a parliament; even when parliaments were called, their meetings lasted only a few weeks, and parliament was expected to touch only the business for which it had been called together. Hence, ministers looked upon themselves as responsible only to the Crown, and paid but little heed to parliament. It was only when a king was willing to use parliament to punish an offending minister like Wolsey that it could in

any way interfere. The control of the Executive government had not yet passed into its hands.

The Tudors found it useful to make the Privy Council the chief executive authority in the land,

Institution of new courts : and to carry on the administration by means of Secretaries of State, such as Cecil, Lord Burleigh, the trusted adviser

of Elizabeth. The Council was quite independent of parliament. It was under the direct eye of the sovereign, it owed its importance to him, and its members could only retain their posts upon it by pleasing him. It became therefore an important instrument in carrying out his desires. Branches of it were instituted for special purposes as occasion demanded. Of these, the

Court of most important were the Court of Star Chamber; North, and the High Commission

Court. The Star Chamber was created by Henry VII. in 1489 for the purpose of obtaining the punishment of persons whom juries were afraid to convict. The lawlessness which had developed during the weak rule of the Lancastrians, the over-awing of juries by noblemen and their retainers, the bribery of judges and jurymen, all required checking, and the Act establishing this new court empowered it to take measures for these purposes. Instituted to check abuses and to aid in the administration of justice, it contained within it the seeds of danger by placing great judicial powers unchecked by a jury in the hands of the very governors of England themselves, and it became an instrument of oppression.

The Council of the North was established in 1537 after the religious rebellion in Yorkshire and Lincolnshire known as the Pilgrimage of Grace. It was intended to ensure order and good government in the north of the country. The Court of High Commission originated in the reign of Elizabeth as part of her religious settlement. It was a mixed tribunal of clergy and laity, and possessed considerable powers in matters of church discipline. Even in Elizabeth's reign it was very unpopular with a large proportion of English people, owing to the methods it employed, and, like the Star Chamber, it became more and more an instrument of oppression in the hands of the Executive government.

It is not surprising that as confidence was restored to the nation, it began to object to the illegalities and the stretches of the prerogative of the Tudor rulers, though, as long as Elizabeth was on the throne, this feeling was kept well in control. Reverence for the Virgin Queen, gratitude for what she had done for England, and her own tact and love of popularity ensured peace. But when she was succeeded by James I. a change was certain to come. The Stuarts lacked the tact in dealing with their English subjects which the Tudors had displayed ; they placed themselves under the control of unworthy favourites ; they wasted much money in the pursuit of pleasure ; they filled offices with needy Scotsmen and favourites on whom the English looked with suspicion ; they

remained aliens, and never succeeded in making themselves the friends of the English nation. The result was that they came to loggerheads with the English parliament on many important points, and soon discovered that it was unwilling to

submit to much that had passed as legal under the Tudors. Thus James I. raised the question of impositions by levying additional duties on imports, and obtained money also by benevolences. Unfortunately, too, he was tactless and extremely obstinate and self-willed, and had a remarkably high opinion of his own statecraft and wisdom. His extravagance made it necessary for him to call parliament together, and parliament made vigorous protests against his methods. He managed also to quarrel with the Puritan party in the church, and thus added a religious difficulty to the grounds of quarrel with parliament ; while an obstinate persistence in a foreign policy which involved peace with Spain and the marriage of his son to a Spanish princess further widened the breach. Hence there was constant trouble between the king and his parliament, and for seven years, 1614 to 1621, he ruled without one. When parliament met again it was in strong opposition to him, and, under the guidance of skilful leaders, it opposed his Spanish policy ; impeached his Lord Chancellor, Bacon ; attacked monopolies ; and asserted its rights to discuss all matters of state. The king's reply was to tear the protest out of the journals of the House ; to dissolve the parliament ; and to imprison three of the most prominent parliamentary

leaders—Coke, Pym, and Selden. The next parliament declared monopolies illegal, and impeached and condemned the Lord Treasurer, Middlesex, for corruption—a distinct step in constitutional progress, since it emphasised that responsibility of Ministers to parliament for which the Commons had been struggling throughout the Middle Ages. It was only possible now, because Middlesex had quarrelled with the king's favourite, Buckingham, and so had lost the king's favour and support.

In the reign of Charles I. matters became worse. Charles was quite unfitted by education and by temperament to rule the nation in such troublous times. He was in many respects a better man than his father, but he was obstinate and unyielding, and held very pronounced views as to his royal prerogative and the divine right by virtue of which he claimed to hold his office. He was guilty of double-dealing in his relations with his subjects, and alienated many by secret intrigues and lack of good faith. The first four years of his reign were passed under the guidance of Buckingham, and were marked by constant quarrels with parliament on questions of religion and taxation, and by general mismanagement of the affairs of the nation. Some of the constitutional problems raised were referred to the judges, for the law was by no means clear and precedents could be found on both sides. But the judges were appointed by the king and held office at his pleasure. There was a danger therefore that they might become his creatures and

The  
quarrel  
between  
Charles I.  
and his  
parliament.

decide always in his favour. A fresh problem, the right of appointment of judges and the conditions under which they should hold office, was thus added to the difficulties awaiting solution.

Unfortunately for Charles his support of Buckingham placed him in antagonism with all the best minds of the nation, while Buckingham's total failure as an administrator at home and abroad completely alienated the sympathies of the people. The opposition in parliament was therefore large, and was under the capable leadership of some of the greatest figures in our parliamentary history : Sir Edward Coke, one of the greatest of English jurists, and champion of the rights of the judges against the king ; Sir Thomas Wentworth, afterwards Earl of Strafford and Charles's adviser, but now the determined opponent of Buckingham ; and Sir John Eliot, a patriot who was to die in the Tower for the cause of parliamentary supremacy. Under the direction of these

Petition of men the parliament of 1628 drew up  
Right, the famous Petition of Right, which  
1628. declared that forced loans and taxations without consent of parliament were illegal, that imprisonment without cause shown was illegal, that martial law should be abolished, and that soldiers and sailors should not be billeted on private houses ; the last two demands arising from the misconduct of the soldiers collected by Buckingham for war with France, the others striking at the despotism which the Stuarts were attempting to establish. The House of Lords endorsed the petition, and the king's monetary needs forced

him to accept it. In the very next year the struggle was renewed, and fresh resolutions, passed while the Speaker was forcibly held in his chair, led to the dissolution of parliament.

After this, for eleven years, Charles ruled alone. His chief advisers were Wentworth, now Earl of Strafford; Laud, who became Arch-

Charles  
rules  
without a  
parliament,  
1629-1640.

bishop of Canterbury; and Weston the Treasurer. The Star Chamber and High Commission Court were employed to enforce taxation, and to compel uniformity in matters of religion. Wentworth in Ireland and Laud at home pursued their respective policies under ever-increasing suspicion. Various expedients were adopted to raise a royal revenue, but it was impossible to keep up an efficient navy and pirates ravaged the coasts. In order to strengthen the navy, Charles and his advisers had recourse to an old and obsolete method of providing ships. The custom of pressing merchant ships into the royal service was revived in 1634

Hampden  
and Ship  
Money.

in the form of a monetary levy, called Ship Money, on the maritime towns and counties. In the next year the charge was extended to the inland counties. John Hampden, a Buckinghamshire Puritan gentleman, refused to pay this charge, and though the judges decided by seven to five in favour of the tax, the nation was with him in his resistance. Meanwhile an attempt on the part of Laud to enforce the English church system on the unwilling Scottish Presbyterians led to war between Charles and the Scots, and the king was reluctantly compelled to call a



parliament. There met ultimately, in 1640, the famous Long Parliament, in which the national party had the leadership of fearless patriots of the type of John Pym and John Hampden. It impeached Strafford and Laud, insisted upon parliament being summoned at least every three years, and dissolved at the end of three years. Finally it passed a Bill declaring that parliament could be neither adjourned nor dissolved without its own consent. It abolished the Court of Star Chamber, the Council of the North, and the High Commission Court; declared Ship Money, illegal; and issued the Grand Remonstrance, 1641. This stated all the illegal acts of Charles's personal government, and demanded the appointment of Ministers responsible to parliament, and the settlement of the religious difficulties by an Assembly of Divines nominated by it. Charles made matters worse by attempting to arrest five members of the Commons whom he had impeached. London protected them against him, the king left London, and both sides prepared for war to decide the question of absolute or constitutional government, the control of the State by king or parliament.

On the king's side were the country gentry of the north and west. The middle classes of the commercial towns and the country gentry of the south-east were the backbone of the parliamentary party. The issue of the struggle is well known. The genius of Cromwell as a leader of cavalry finally turned the scale in favour of the parliament, who were helped also by

Grand  
Remon-  
strance,  
1641.

Civil War.

alliance with the Scots, by the possession of the manufacturing and commercial portion of the country, and by the control of the seas through the support of the navy. Attempts at an understanding with the king failed, and his unfortunate double-dealing finally alienated many who had been trying to come to an agreement with him. In 1649 he was condemned to death by a partisan tribunal, and his execution was followed by the establishment of a Commonwealth, and by various attempts at constitution-making which resulted in the Protectorship of Cromwell, and the restoration of the Stuarts in the person of Charles II.

The subservience of Charles II. to France, his leanings towards Catholicism, and his own evil living and that of his court rendered Charles II. and him obnoxious to the large Puritan James II. element in England which had opposed his father. A strong party developed, known as the Whigs, who favoured the exclusion of the Catholics from office, the ensuring of a Protestant succession to the throne, and the responsibility of the king's ministers to parliament. Charles was succeeded by his brother, James II., who was less popular than he had been, and possessed many of the older Stuart ideas of the kingly prerogative and the right to rule absolutely. James thus managed to offend all parties and was forced to flee the country. A Convention, consisting of the Peers, the surviving members of the Commons who had sat in the reign of Charles II., and the Aldermen and Councillors of London, met in his absence

and offered the Crown jointly to William, Prince of Orange, a grandson of Charles I., and his wife, Mary, a daughter of James II. In making the offer the Convention drew up a Declaration of Rights which narrated the illegal acts of James II., and made a declaration of the "true, ancient, and indubitable rights of the people of the realm." It also arranged for a Protestant succession to the throne. The first parliament of William and Mary converted this Declaration into an Act of Parliament in 1689, and the great revolution was completed. By it the theory of divine right of kings and the claims of the Stuarts to absolute power were finally discredited, and the supremacy of the law established. The power of parliament as the ruling body of the realm was asserted ; some measure of religious toleration was granted ; taxation without consent of parliament was declared illegal ; and the Ministers of the Crown were at last made responsible to parliament for their acts, instead of to the sovereign as heretofore. In this way the basis of modern parliamentary government was laid, and England commenced her career as a free state, destined to set an example to the world in the methods of democratic government.

## CHAPTER XXIV.

### AGRICULTURAL PROGRESS AT LAST.

THE great change from tillage to sheep-rearing which was taking place in Tudor times did not exhaust itself until the reign of Elizabeth. But though the desire to grow wool rather than corn had been very widespread, yet at the same time many farmers had been devoting themselves to corn-growing. These farmers had been greatly helped by the new enclosure system, which they had used not to convert arable into pasture, but to allow of the rearrangement of their farms for better tillage. By exchange of plots, by purchase of land, and in other ways, scattered holdings were changing into more or less compact farms, and farmers were able to plough up the wasteful balks and headlands which had divided the old open field strips, and to parcel out the land to best advantage by fences and quickset hedges. Farm houses and farm buildings were erected on the holdings, and rural England began to assume an appearance more in keeping with that of the rural England of to-day. And, as Mr. Trevelyan points out: "The garden of England, created by the new system of enclosure,

Changes  
in farming  
as a  
result of  
enclosure.

was more beautiful than the wilderness or the bare plough lands to which it succeeded. Land could then be most cheaply enclosed, not by barbed wire, but by planted hedgerows; cow-sheds and barns could be erected most quickly, not with corrugated iron, but with timber from the forest and thatch from the field. Even the habitations of man improved the appearance of nature, for hedges and orchards rose round new houses, and the buildings themselves were pleasing to the eye."

Once the farmer had thus obtained sole control of his own portion of the land he began to give greater care and attention to farming methods, and now that the craze for sheep-farming had abated, there was a return to that system of mixed farming, partly tillage and partly stock-raising, which is so characteristic an English method. Many causes contributed to this result. Careless breeding and the use of unsuitable pastures had led to a deterioration in the quality of the wool produced. The increased production of wool was keeping prices stationary even with an increasing demand, while the increase in the population which followed the years of Tudor peace and prosperity gave rise to an increasing demand for food, and made corn-growing and the rearing of stock for food very profitable. Tillage was now no longer a mere farming for subsistence, but began to be a deliberate attempt to supply town markets with produce. The land was an attractive investment in many ways

and good profits were expected from the money invested in it. It was no longer necessary to enforce the statutes against enclosures. Some progress was made in methods of tillage and the planting of new types of crops, and the yield from the land was raised to something like two and a half times what it had formerly been. The association with Holland was a valuable one in this respect. The Dutch were noted dairy farmers with methods well worth copying; the increased

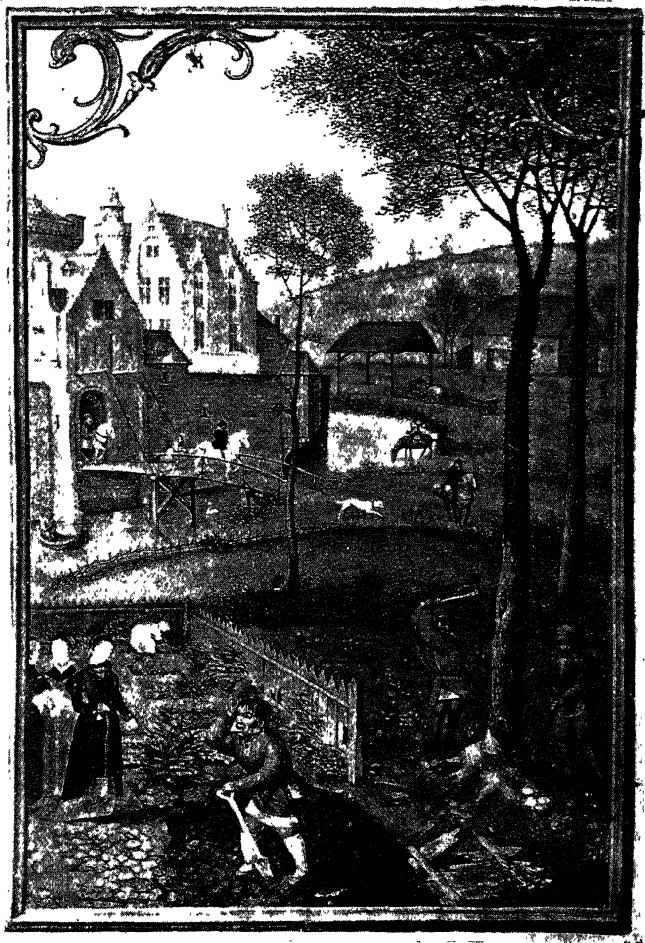
Help from the Dutch. interest in stock-rearing made attention to winter foods absolutely necessary, and this was a matter in which the Dutch could give valuable advice. More attention too was paid to the garden, again under Dutch influence; the use of the spade became more common; radishes, turnips, parsnips, carrots, cabbages, cucumbers, and other salads were grown more freely, and onions were brought from Flanders. Hops were also grown again in considerable quantities, and there were plenty of well-stocked orchards. The progress continued throughout the seventeenth century in spite of the troubles of the Civil War.

The Government interfered in many ways in matters agricultural. The Mercantile system, or policy of power, in terms of which the country was governed, demanded among other things a sturdy population, and this could best be obtained by fostering tillage, both as a means of employment for many persons and as a source of food for all. We must remember that at this

time agriculture was the main occupation of the English people, more than three-fourths of the population being directly or indirectly associated with it, and it was obviously the policy of the

Government to foster it as much as  
 Statute of  
 Artificers, possible. In 1563 a Statute of Artificers

1563. attempted to check the growing dearth of labourers by requiring all able-bodied men to serve as agricultural servants, unless they could prove their right to exemption, and all artisans were to help in the fields at harvest-time if necessary. Servants were also to be hired for a year at least, a provision against casual labour; and the same Act attempted also to regulate the wages to be paid. But here the Act of 1563 differed from all the many Statutes of Labourers which had preceded it, for instead of fixing a maximum rate as other Acts had done, this statute left the assessment of wages in the hands of the local justices of the peace, who were free to vary the rate according to local conditions or the needs of the time, though all their assessments were subject to alteration by the Government. This Act remained in force for two centuries and a half, but it is by no means certain that it was observed during that time; indeed, it was probably neglected by the time of the Restoration. Nor were the wages fixed by it sufficient as a sole source of livelihood, for though wages had doubled since the fifteenth century, the cost of food had trebled. Hence wage-paid labourers found it necessary to help out their earnings by engaging in by-industries such as spinning and weaving, and by



SCENES OF COUNTRY LIFE IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.





farming the few acres of cultivable land which were generally attached to each cottage. During the reign of Elizabeth a labourer could earn sevenpence a day in summer and sixpence in winter, with extras during the time of harvest, but the rates varied very much in different parts of the country.

The Government also attempted to regulate the price of corn in such a way as to encourage its growth. The Mercantile policy, with its desire for ships and men, was naturally favourable to this. If corn could be grown in sufficient quantities for export, there would be employment for English ships and sailors, while the necessary tillage meant plenty of hardy labourers. In 1571 it was enacted that corn could be exported unless expressly forbidden by proclamation; and certain duties on export were fixed. These duties were increased at the Restoration, but were soon reduced owing to high prices. They were reimposed in 1673. After 1688 a period of low prices nearly ruined the landed interest, and the duties on exported corn were not only abolished but were replaced by a bounty of five shillings per quarter on exported corn when wheat was below five shillings per quarter. At the same time the duties on imported corn were kept high, so necessary to the well-being of the country did agriculture seem. Similarly, in 1665 and 1680 the import from Ireland of cattle, sheep, and pigs, together with their produce in meat, butter, and cheese, was prohibited in the interests of the English farmer.

The changes in farming methods did not take place over the whole country. The south was much more forward in this matter than the north, and the midland and south-eastern counties were the most prominent. Even towards the end of the seventeenth century only about one-half of the whole land of England was cultivated, and of this more than one-half was still under the open-field system. Where the changes took place rents rose rapidly ; land worth twelve years' purchase in 1600 had risen to fifteen years' purchase by 1688.

One important alteration was in the attention paid to drainage. Much heath and swamp existed,

Improve-  
ments in  
drainage.

and attempts were made to reclaim the fenny and marshy lands. It is estimated that as many as 95,000 acres of land were recovered, of which the adventurers, who invested money in the enterprises, generally received about two-thirds. The work was carried on by private capital, and Dutch engineers were brought in to advise and superintend. Important drainage operations took place in the Fenland and in the marshes around the Humber. Most important of all was the drainage of the Great Level in the Cambridgeshire fen area. The work of recovery was resolutely opposed by the fenmen, who feared the loss of their rights of turf-cutting, fishing, and fowling, and the Civil War was their opportunity. Mills and embankments were destroyed, enclosures were levelled, and the fruits of many years of enterprise were lost. There were also many improvements in the drainage and irrigation of ordinary lands, a Herefordshire

gentleman named Rowland Vaughan being a notable pioneer in this. His efforts proved so successful that he is said to have raised the value of his estate from £40 to £300 per annum, and his example was naturally followed by many of his neighbours.

Attention was also paid to the implements employed, and the older crude and clumsy tools

Better tools and implements. began to be replaced by better ones. The plough was improved, and drills for sowing began to be employed. The Dutch also taught the importance of the use of the spade. Many new crops were introduced from Holland, where the advantages of turnips and of such artificial grasses as clover, sainfoin, and lucerne were well known. Potatoes, too, began to be an important field crop after the middle of the seventeenth century, though they had not become a common food but remained rather a delicacy even at its close.

Improvements were also effected in the use of manures. Liming and marling were renewed,

Better manures. and new forms of manuring were adopted. The use of sand, seaweed, oyster shells, and fish as manures was now known, and these were employed wherever the situation of the land made their use possible. The newly formed Royal Society paid much attention to the question of agriculture, and made many useful and profitable suggestions. But the greatest difficulty in the way of improvement was the innate conservatism of the farmers, who objected to new crops and new methods and tried to retain the

customs of their forefathers. Where the land was still open-field, progress was well-nigh impossible ; on the enclosed farms there were enlightened agriculturists who were leading the way along better lines.

During the changes that had been taking place, the villein had finally disappeared. He was now

Disappearance of the villein. in many cases a copyholder, and like his neighbour, the yeoman, held his own estate of from 20 to 150 acres, and

in the smaller farms worked it mainly by the help of his family. The yeomanry, who formed something like one-sixth of the population, found in

The yeomanry and tenant farmers. the seventeenth century their golden age. Their estates varied considerably in size and importance ; the best of them were scarcely inferior in status to the country gentry. To be counted

a yeoman, a man had to possess an income of at least forty shillings a year derived from his own freehold land. An Act of Parliament of 1430 had made this the qualification for the parliamentary vote in the county areas, and the yeomen were proud of this privilege and showed their independence in the exercise of it. The tenant farmers were also prosperous and occupied a good position, though their social status was inferior to

The labourers. that of the yeomanry. As for the labourers, if they were poorly paid they were in most cases well fed, and, as we have already pointed out, they still had domestic industries and small holdings of land to help them. Unmarried servants of both sexes lived in the houses of the

farms on which they worked, and shared in the food of the household. Married labourers supplemented their wages by domestic industries, and could obtain a portion of their food from the little plots of five or six acres attached to many cottages, and from the possession of a cow which they could graze upon the common lands. Their wives and children shared in this work and also in agricultural work generally. One of the worst hindrances of the labourer was the Act of Settlement of 1662. This prevented his movement from one district to another in search of higher wages and better employment, and might mean his having to journey a considerable distance to his work owing to the action of landlords who kept out the undesirable poor by forbidding the erection of cottages upon their estates.

## CHAPTER XXV.

### NEW INDUSTRIAL AND COMMERCIAL METHODS AND THEIR EFFECTS.

THE improvements that were taking place in Tudor England were not confined to agriculture. The progress made in industry and commerce was much more rapid and considerable than in farming; for it was true then as always that the towns stood for progress, while the country areas were more conservative in their outlook. The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries mark the beginnings of modern England—the England of competitive trade, of world markets, and of capitalistic production. They saw the change from the older gild system of industry to the domestic system. The craftsman still worked at home with his journeymen and apprentices, but he now confined himself almost entirely to the production of the article; he was supplied with the raw material by some enterprising middleman, who also took upon himself all the risks and all the profits of marketing the finished commodity. They saw also the development of our shipping and our acquisition of the world's carrying trade. Our mercantile marine began to flourish exceedingly

at the expense of other nations, and notably at the expense of the Dutch. Competition forced the pace at which men desired to obtain riches and spurred them on to bolder enterprises than had been thought safe a century or two earlier; fortunes were more quickly made; bankruptcies were more frequent. The mediæval objection to lending money at interest passed away; much trade was done on borrowed capital; people began to save money with greater zest when interest was obtainable upon it.

But though the system of gild control of industry had passed away, it was no part of Tudor or Stuart policy under the Mercantile system to allow full freedom of trade. Govern-  
mental  
control of  
industry. Industry and commerce were still controlled, directed, and restricted if necessary. Gild control was changed for control by the crown and, finally, for control by parliament. The extensions of trade, however, made oversight a matter of much greater difficulty, and many regulations were probably never put into very effective practice; the method of aiding or hindering by bounties and by tariffs began to come into operation instead. There was a large amount of trade legislation throughout the period. Under Elizabeth and her successors the office of aulnager was kept up in the woollen trade in the interests of good quality; other officials were appointed to deal with the silk and lead trades; there was a general tendency to use an official rather than a company. The laws favouring the corporate towns were repealed in 1623, though in some



cases the guilds or the companies were revived to supervise certain industries, the warden of the London Haberdashers' Company was given the right of search in the manufacture of hats and caps, the Stationers' Company was used to control and regulate the issue of books.

Under the Mercantile system both merchant and craftsman were supposed so to regulate their trade as to benefit the nation, sometimes it might be at the expense of themselves. Governmental regulation of trade Parliament and Council did not hesitate to issue special regulations when these were necessary. In 1496, when trouble with Flanders seemed likely to stop the woollen trade, the Merchant Adventurers continued to purchase the goods they would normally have required for export, and thus saved the situation for many workers. In 1528, when trade was bad, Wolsey insisted upon the clothiers continuing to find employment for their workpeople. In 1622, during a period of severe trade depression, the Council compelled merchants to continue their purchase of cloth, and clothiers their employment of weavers. Parliament might also interfere in other ways in its endeavour to foster trade; under Elizabeth all persons were compelled to wear caps and hats of English manufacture; an Act of Parliament of the reign of Charles II. ordered that all persons should be buried in woollens and instead of in linen as heretofore. In commerce. 1648, and again in 1660, the export of wool from England was prohibited; in 1678 an Act of Parliament stopped all trade with

France in the interests of home industries. The necessity of a large fishing population to man the navy caused the ministers of Edward VI. and of Elizabeth to insist on the keeping up of fish-eating days, the institution of a "political Lent" in place of the older religious one. In the seventeenth century a determined effort was made to wrest the carrying trade from the Dutch, whose mercantile marine was then the most important in the world. Navigation Acts were passed in 1651, and again in 1661, prohibiting the import of goods from Asia, Africa, or America into England, Ireland, or our colonies, except in ships owned by English subjects and navigated by English captains with crews of which at least three-fourths were Englishmen. Opinion is divided as to the value of these measures. The Dutch trade certainly declined, and English shipping increased considerably. Whether this was the direct result of the legislation is not so certain. Our trade would possibly have increased as rapidly without it; and, owing to lack of suitable ships, the trade with the Baltic ports actually declined when Dutch ships could no longer be used. The Acts certainly caused the Dutch naval wars of the Commonwealth period and the reign of Charles II. On the other hand it is claimed that they hastened the decay of the Dutch carrying trade, and made it pass more quickly into English hands.

Many attempts were made also to foster industries by welcoming alien workers and affording facilities for their special branches of work. England was

learning much from the Continent, and especially from the Netherlands, at this time. But one great

difficulty in the way of establishing a new industry was to get men to undertake the risks associated with such an enterprise. Hence it became necessary to allow a monopoly of the production and sale of the new article to these undertakers for a few years at any rate. The time soon came when the abuse of monopolies,

their use to reward courtiers and favourites or to provide a Stuart king with a revenue independent of parliamentary control, their interference with the course of trade, the right of search granted to the monopolists, and the high prices charged for very inferior articles, caused them to be condemned. But this ought not to blind us to the fact that, like the patents of our own time, they often served to protect inventors and originators and to stimulate production in new directions. The settlement of this vexed question by the Parliament of 1624 was indeed upon these lines. Sole rights in a new manufacture were granted to the inventor for a space of fourteen years, provided the invention was not contrary to the law, or hurtful to trade, or generally inconvenient. There was also another kind of monopoly which persisted throughout these centuries, namely, the granting to certain companies of exclusive rights of foreign trade within defined areas. Of these companies we shall see more later.

The Government did much also to help international trade by means of commercial treaties

and by the institution of consuls in various trading centres. Henry VII. was able to obtain good Commercial terms from the Flemings in the *Inter-treaties. cursus Magnus*, 1496—a treaty which guaranteed freedom of trade in all commodities, without passports or licences, between England and the States of the Netherlands, while a few years later the *Intercursus Malus*—so named by the disgusted Flemings—gave England even better conditions of trade, and these were only the first of a series of treaties which were made during the two centuries we are considering.

The older State interference in the matter of wages remained, though with important alterations.

The Elizabethan *Statute of Artificers*, 1563, was a remarkable piece of labour legislation. It codified and arranged existing practices, and established a national system which lasted until the nineteenth century. We have already spoken of those sections of the measure which dealt with poor relief and with agricultural labour, but they were only a portion of this comprehensive scheme. It attempted to arrest the decay of the corporate towns and to ensure a good quality of industrial production by enforcing a regular seven years' apprenticeship in all districts, rural or urban ; it limited the nature of a boy's employment according to his parentage, so as to ensure that there should be workers in all branches of industry ; it established a ratio between the number of journeymen and the number of apprentices a master might engage. More than this, it tried to

set up machinery for the assessment of town wages in accordance with the needs of varying localities and the time of year. Assessment of wages was no new thing. Statutes of Labourers had attempted to do this from the time of the Peasants' Revolt onward. But whereas those statutes had fixed a maximum limit to wages in order to keep them low, this Act of 1563 removed the statutory maximum, and left it in the hands of the justices of the peace to fix as high a wage as they thought necessary. As these assessors belonged to the class who had to pay the wages, there was little danger of the rate being too high a one ; and it is urged by some that the Act speedily became a dead letter, and was rarely enforced. There are, however, many instances of its employment, at any rate in the early part of the seventeenth century ; after the Civil War it probably fell into neglect, and was but rarely resorted to. The intention of the Act was clearly to have a reassessment every summer with right of interference on the part of the central authority. There is much dispute also as to the efficiency of the Act even when it was enforced. The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were times in which prices were rising very rapidly and wages were not rising correspondingly. Hence the standard of comfort of the average worker fell considerably. For workmen were not allowed to combine with a view to obtaining better terms—to do so constituted conspiracy against the law ; whatever the assessment was, it had to be accepted as the standard legal wage.

But whether this varied interference of the State were help or hindrance it is certain that trade developed rapidly. The sack of Antwerp by the Spaniards in 1576 was a great gain to London. Trade was transferred to its markets, and Flemish merchants became prominent London citizens ; a number of them subscribed £5000 to England's defence against the Spanish Armada in 1588. England cast off the last vestiges of foreign control of her trade—no yearly fleet of Venetian galleys came to her shores after 1587 ; the Hansards lost their privileged position in the Steelyard, and their trade passed into English hands before the close of the sixteenth century. The area covered by this trade extended yearly, and soon included the East and West Indies, the Canaries and Spanish America, and even Cathay, Muscovy, and Tartary. In the sixteenth century our imports from Flanders included jewels, precious stones, silver bullion, quicksilver, gold and silver cloth and thread, wrought silks, spices, drugs, sugar, glass, saltpetre, cotton, linen, and hops ; in return we exported coarse and fine draperies, fringes, wool, sheep and rabbit skins, leather, lead, tin, beer, cheese, and other provisions. In 1613 the total value of exports and imports combined was £4,628,686 ; in 1703 it had risen to £6,552,019. It was estimated that the revenue rose from about £6,000,000 in 1600 to £14,000,000 in 1688. Merchant shipping at the Revolution was double what it had been twenty years previously, and the general wealth had quadrupled in the same period.

Trading  
develop-  
ments.

Much of the advance in industry was due to the skilled refugees who, for two hundred years, poured

The in a steady stream from the Continent  
work of the to our hospitable shores. It is to the  
refugees. credit of our statesmen that in nearly  
all cases these immigrants were readily welcomed  
and allowed to assimilate with the native English,  
to the country's great advantage. They came  
from the Netherlands during Alva's campaign  
of 1567 to 1573, and again after the second  
capture of Antwerp in 1585; from France after the  
massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day, 1572, and  
after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in  
1685, when the Huguenot immigrants are said to  
have numbered 50,000 persons, and to have repre-  
sented a capital of £3,000,000. Spitalfields was  
almost wholly inhabited by them. Very many  
industries rose to importance as a result of their  
teaching. All the finer kinds of work in cloth,  
silk, damask, velvet, cambric, and tapestry were  
in their hands; paper-making, glass-working, the  
manufacture of clocks and watches, and of pottery,  
owe their introduction into England to refugee  
enterprise. London, Kent, and the eastern counties  
were the chief seats of settlement of these peaceful  
invaders. Care was taken that they should have  
English apprentices to learn the trades from them.

The woollen industry was still the all-important  
English industry. After Alva's destruction of

English the Flemish trade, England was left  
industries: practically without a rival in it. At  
the end of the seventeenth century two-thirds of  
the total exports belonged to this trade; it was

estimated that there were in the country twelve million sheep, producing wool worth £2,000,000, of which the manufactured product was woollens ; valued at £8,000,000. The decay of the corporate towns led to a wide dispersion of the industry, which passed into the hands of the clothier, who gave out the yarn to the weavers and collected the cloth produced. Many of the weavers lived in the country areas with land attached to their cottages, and worked partly on the land and partly at the loom. Many of the looms were the property of the merchant, who let them out on hire. In Mary's reign an Act of Parliament tried to restrict the number of looms in each household to two in the towns and one in the country districts, on the ground that certain men were buying up looms and hiring them out at such high prices as to prevent the weavers from making a living, and to the great detriment of the industry. But regulations were difficult to enforce, especially in the country areas ; and the cloth trade was very widespread. Norfolk, and especially Norwich, made worsteds and fustians, a heavy fabric woven with a linen warp and a cotton weft ; Suffolk produced bays or baize, a coarse woollen cloth with a long nap ; Essex, bays and serges ; Kent, broadcloths. The broadcloths of the West of England were the most famous, with Devonshire kerseys or twilled woollen cloths, and Taunton serges ; Westmoreland was producing the well-known Kendal green ; Worcester and Gloucester, and Manchester and Halifax, were all cloth-working centres.



One of the most widespread domestic industries was that of knitting. Women, boys, and girls supplemented the household income by knitting; knitting stockings, caps, and other woollen articles. In 1569 the stocking frame or stocking loom was invented, and framework knitting soon became an important industry. Starting in London, it was developed especially in the counties of Nottingham, Derby, and Leicester. In 1657 the Company of Framework Knitters was incorporated to watch over the industry, but the company's unpopularity shows that gild or company control was a thing of the past.

The cotton industry commenced with the production of fustians. The early cotton goods were coarse and heavy, and all the better kinds were imported from the East. Before the close of the seventeenth century calico printing had commenced; in 1700 the importation of printed calicoes was forbidden in order to stimulate this new industry. Linen was produced mainly in the north-east of Ireland; silk owed its development to the work of the refugees, and was carefully fostered by the Government. The making of sail-cloth, ropes, and other naval articles was also supported, and the Newfoundland cod fishery and the Arctic whale fishery were encouraged. The working of the useful metals developed more slowly. Iron smelting was still mainly confined to the Wealden area, which supplied London, and to the Forest of Dean,

which satisfied the requirements of the growing west country towns. Iron was also imported from Ireland. Wood was the fuel in use, and there were grave doubts as to whether sufficient oak trees would be left to supply the needs of the navy. Early in the seventeenth century Dudley managed to use coal successfully as a smelting medium, but his neighbours objected and rioted, and little progress was made. Before the end of the century ironwork of importance was being produced coal in the Black Country area. mining Coal mining and coal exporting were developing fast; Newcastle-on-Tyne had a large coasting trade in coal with London; the export of coal from the country was forbidden in 1563. Copper smelting was introduced into South Wales during the sixteenth century; lead was worked in Derbyshire, tin in Devon and Cornwall. In the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, pewter, a mixture of lead and tin, was in great request and formed the basis of a flourishing industry.

The western seaports benefited by the increasing colonial trade with America and the West Indies.

Colonial trade. It was estimated that in 1680 these colonies took goods to the value of £350,000, chiefly provisions, wearing apparel, and household furniture. Their exports amounted to £950,000 in sugar, tobacco, ginger, cotton, dyes, cocoa, fish, and furs. Bristol and Glasgow, and a little later Greenock, became important centres of sugar refining and of the tobacco trade.

Increased production called for better methods of distribution, and for more efficient means of

obtaining the raw produce from different parts of the world. This led to the formation of many

Trading trading companies, which enjoyed mono-companies : poly rights in return for the services they rendered to the country. It was necessary at this time for merchant vessels to sail in fleets ;

their there was little protection in many utility ; foreign lands by means of consuls or commerical treaties ; what was wanted was a safe trade with a minimum of loss through risk ; and these conditions were what company trading could well supply. The companies were of two classes :

two kinds : either they were companies of merchants  
(a) regulated, each trading with his own separate  
(b) joint stock. capital, subject to certain rules and regulations binding on them as a whole, or they were men who put capital into a common fund or stock, and made an equal division of whatever profits accrued. The former were the regulated, the latter the joint-stock, companies. These organisations seem at first to have been of real use to the community ; they helped in the development of an orderly trade ; they made the collection of the revenue much simpler ; they were at times useful in regulating industries. Yet they interfered also with trading developments, and many men would have made much more rapid progress in commerce without them. Also they tended to become close monopolies, and merchants outside their ranks could not trade at all. These outsiders constantly demanded and continually tried to obtain a share in the trade, but were stigmatised as interlopers, and the monopolists tried to harass

them in every possible way. Yet enterprising men such as the interlopers were just the type to force

Objections trade and open new markets ; whereas to them. the companies, secure in their dividends, were often quite satisfied with existing trading conditions. After the Revolution of 1689 the feeling against the companies grew stronger, and there was a growing tendency to throw the trade open to all persons, though the companies were in most cases able to hold their own by judicious bribery and other means for a much longer time.

By far the most important of these companies was the East India Company, the first great joint-stock company. It was incor-

The East India Company. porated on 31st December 1600 to trade with India and the East Indies, and many of its original members were merchants belonging to the already existing Levant Company or Turkey Company, which was engaged in a very profitable trade in the eastern Mediterranean. There was much objection to the East India Company, on the grounds that the length of the voyage robbed England of ships which might otherwise be useful in case of war at home, and that the company did not benefit English industry, seeing that its imports of spices, muslins, calicoes, silks, gold, pearls, and ivory were mainly luxuries, and its export gold or silver. There was at this time a great controversy between the Bullionists, men who urged that the country was weakened by any export of the precious metals, and wished therefore so to regulate trade as to amass treasure in the country ; and the Mercantilists, who believed

that, so long as exports exceeded imports and the "balance of trade" was therefore in favour of England, it was wise to allow liberty in exporting gold and silver, if the export was necessary in the interests of trade. The Bullionists naturally looked with disfavour on the Indian trade. But the company made rapid progress: the voyage of 1611 gave a profit of 218 per cent.; another voyage resulted in a gain of 340 per cent.; though against these gains must be counted losses from shipwreck and fights with the Dutch and Portuguese. In the Commonwealth period trade was open to all, but monopoly came back with the Restoration. In 1676 the stock changed hands at 245 per cent.

The Levant Company. The Levant Company was incorporated in 1581, but there had been a big trade in this area for many years previously. It had factories at Smyrna and Aleppo, and drove a profitable trade in silk, cotton, mohair, currants, and drugs, while exporting large quantities of woollen goods. The Eastland and

The Eastland and Muscovy Companies. Muscovy Companies traded with the Baltic countries, including Russia. The Eastland was incorporated in 1579 to take the place of the Hansards in the Baltic, to which it exported woollen goods in exchange for tar, hemp, cordage, and all kinds of naval stores. The Muscovy was a result of Chancellor's famous expedition, and gained a monopoly of the whale fishery in 1613,

Other companies. to the detriment of that industry. The African Company, a joint-stock company trading with western Africa, was less success-

ful; the Hudson Bay Company, 1670, had a very prosperous career.

Much older than any of these companies was the Company of Merchant Adventurers, who were

The ultimately incorporated in 1564 and Merchant traded with the Continent in articles Adventurers. other than those which were the monopoly of the Merchants of the Staple. These Adventurers were chiefly London mercers, and were responsible for great developments in the cloth trade. They met with strong opposition from the Hanseatic League, but established themselves in Antwerp at the close of the fifteenth century. Expelled from here by Philip II., they started factories at Emden and afterwards at Hamburg. They gained for England a good reputation upon the Continent for commercial honesty and straight dealing, and founded many new markets for their country's woollen goods. Other towns, too, such as Bristol and Newcastle, had their Merchant Adventurers who traded with different parts of the world, and sometimes came into conflict with the Londoners, whom they charged with seeking a monopoly of trade.

The changes which were thus taking place had a great effect upon the society of the time. The

Effects of trade upon society. Court life of the Stuarts was notoriously bad, except during the reign of Charles I., but this was balanced to a great extent by puritanism, which acted as an instrument of social reform. The Puritans were opposed to most of the older English public amusements—acting, dancing, card-playing, cock-fighting,

and bull and bear baiting were all alike condemned ; the maypoles were all pulled down in 1644 ; the old Sunday afternoon sports, which James I. and Charles I. had attempted to revive, were sternly prohibited when the Parliamentarians triumphed over the Royalists.

After the Restoration the older social order was restored, with its recognition of the gentlefolk, that is, of those who could show their right to a coat-of-arms. Many of the country gentry. The country gentry still lived almost entirely in the country, where they held all the commissions in the militia and the seats on the country bench, while their sons entered the army and navy or took up church livings. Some of the younger sons of good families still went in for trade and adventured abroad. But poor gentlefolk were very glad to save their estates by marrying their sons to the daughters of wealthy yeomen or tradespeople, and it was possible also for yeomen and clothiers and other merchants to gain admission to the ranks of the country gentry. At the commencement of the seventeenth century the new title of baronet could be purchased for a little over £1000. During the rise of prices which accompanied the influx of the precious metals from the New World, the working classes lost in comfort through their wages not rising proportionately ; but when this sharp advance in prices ceased about 1650, they enjoyed a better position than they had formerly done.

Condition  
of the  
working  
classes.

The dress of all outside the Court circles became

plainer than it had been in the days of Elizabeth. Charles I. and his queen set a good example in   
Changes this direction by their tasteful use of   
in dress. more sober-coloured garments, and the reaction was greatly aided by the simplicity of dress adopted by the Puritans, with its plain collar and narrow linen band and its sobriety of cut and hue. In Court circles after the Restoration there was much extravagance in dress, but the Court does not reflect the feeling of the nation ; it was a strictly limited circle that stood apart from the main current of public opinion. Wigs became popular after 1660. The doublet and cloak began to be replaced by a tunic and vest, the forerunners of our modern coat and waistcoat.

Breakfast was now a light meal of bread and butter and ale. Dinner was eaten about one   
Food o'clock, and was a substantial meal with a wide variety of dishes. Supper was generally only a light meal. Coffee and chocolate were becoming very popular beverages, though tea   
and drink. was still somewhat rare as a drink. Very much beer and wines of all kinds were drunk by all classes of the community ; and late in the seventeenth century the distillation of gin became an important London trade, and gin drinking spread rapidly among the lower classes with terrible effects.



## CHAPTER XXVI.

### FINANCIAL DEVELOPMENTS.

#### THE BANK OF ENGLAND AND THE NATIONAL DEBT.

THE great developments in industry and commerce which we have been describing were rendered possible only by equally important changes in finance. War could not be carried on without money ; the possession of the great centres of trade and the command of the seas, with the constant revenues resulting from them, went a long way towards securing victory for the parliamentary party in the Civil war. Manufactures and commerce, and, to a great extent, agriculture, began in the sixteenth century to depend upon capital for their continuance and extension. The new methods of trade distribution by companies depended upon the presence of capital to be invested in them. Money and credit began to enter into all the affairs of life in a way which was quite unknown to the English people of the Middle Ages.

In those days credit in the modern sense of the term can scarcely be said to have existed. A very moderate amount of capital was sufficient to allow most of the craftsmen to carry on their businesses successfully under gild supervision. It was difficult

for the more prosperous merchants to find means of investment for the money they were accumulating. To lend out money at interest was looked upon as unchristian, and therefore sinful. Help to the unfortunate who were failing in their businesses was often rendered by the gild, or by friends in more prosperous circumstances who were willing to help with their surplus wealth. The usual custom among friends and neighbours was to expect only the return of the sum lent. To desire interest, or usury as it was then termed, was to take advantage of a friend's necessity; the money lent was surplus stock, the risk incurred by the lender was very small, and the possessor lost nothing by its temporary transference to his friend, for he himself had no means of investing it to any advantage. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, also, sums of money were sometimes left by will to aid young tradesmen and others who wished to commence business for themselves. The bequest was often under the control of a gild or company which was responsible for its administration; the borrower was expected to find security for the sum lent, and was also sometimes expected to pay a small amount of interest for its use.

But although lending at interest had been declared sinful, it was a common practice during the Middle Ages. The Jews were especially engaged in the business of money lending; kings and nobles were frequent borrowers. The fact that these lenders were aliens and therefore outside the

law, the difficulties they met with in the pursuit of their business, and the losses involved, all made

Lending at the rate of interest a high one. In  
interest 1199 the rate is given as 10 per cent.,  
considered a figure at which it remained until the  
sinful. time of Henry VIII., though there were

very many transactions in which the rate of interest was considerably higher. Elizabeth, at her accession, had to face a debt of £200,000 owing chiefly to Antwerp Jews, and paying interest at 14 per cent. The fact is that the royal estates soon ceased to provide an income sufficient for the royal needs; and taxation, based upon the calculations of earlier times, was quite inadequate to meet the necessities of the State. Hence for a

But long time it had been customary for the  
much sovereign to borrow money as soon as  
borrowing the revenue of the year had been  
took place. fixed. Advances were obtained by him,

on the security of this revenue, from Jews, Lombards, or other lenders, and from public bodies such as the monasteries or the companies of foreign merchants. The merchants of the Steelyard were able to help in this way on several occasions, not, of course, without advantage to themselves. The money thus borrowed was repaid as the taxes were received at the Exchequer, or in the case of the companies by remission of duties on merchandise.

Borrowing for ordinary business purposes also tended to become more common in Tudor times, and helped in the extension of trade, though it was also accompanied by an increase in the number of failures, and by a growing indisposition on the

part of lenders to act in the old charitable fashion, especially as there were now better and more frequent opportunities for the investment of capital. Hence in 1545 an Act of Parliament legalised the taking of interest, and fixed the rate at 10 per cent. This Act was repealed in 1552, but was re-enacted in 1571. As time went on, too, it was possible to borrow more money at home, instead of going to Flemish or Italian sources. When Elizabeth ascended the throne, as we have seen, the State was paying 14 per cent. on money borrowed in Antwerp. The queen used Sir Thomas Gresham as her financial agent, and, by repaying her loans in a reasonable time, made her credit good and was able to borrow at 10 per cent. and get the money chiefly from the London merchants and their companies. At the death of James I. the usual rate of interest was 8 per cent. ; during the Commonwealth period it fell to 6 per cent. Charles II. borrowed from the goldsmiths at 10 per cent.

Nor was the question of borrowing money the only difficulty. There were troubles connected with the coinage throughout this period. In the sixteenth century it suffered very serious debasement at the hands of Henry VIII., and of the ministers of Edward VI. This naturally resulted in serious injury being done to English trade. Prices went up when the testoon, a coin which was nominally worth sixpence, only contained silver in some cases to the value of fourpence halfpenny, in others to the value of

twopence farthing. Foreign merchants who were still responsible at this time for a considerable portion of England's continental trade were unwilling to take English money ; there was a danger in lest people should go back to bartering in Elizabeth's their ordinary transactions. It is very reign ; much to the credit of Elizabeth and her council that they faced this danger quickly and boldly. In 1562 the debased coinage was written down to its real, as distinct from its nominal, value, and was then called in, and remade into standard coin. Of course its holders suffered loss in the transaction, but the gain to all classes was very considerable, for the restoration of the coinage helped in the great expansion of trade which is a feature of her reign.

The ministers of William III. had to face a corresponding difficulty, though the cause this time was not debasement, for the Stuarts in the reign of did not interfere with the weight or William III. fineness of their coins. But until 1663 the currency consisted of coins which were roughly shaped and had the impression hammered upon them, instead of being produced, as they now are, in a press and with a milled edge. The coins were therefore irregular in shape, and there was a great temptation to clip their edges and thus reduce their value. The result was that many of the coins in use became much worn and of considerably less than their nominal value ; while the poor appearance of the coins made it possible to counterfeit them with ease. Also, when new coins were placed upon the market, they were

generally hoarded or even melted down for the sake of the gold or silver they contained, and only the old and worn ones remained in use. The only way to prevent this continual loss of new coins was to remove the old ones from the market. This was done in 1696 under the supervision of Sir Isaac Newton, the currency was once more restored to standard value, and better coins were made, for the press had been introduced for making the coins in 1663. But whereas Elizabeth had been able to call down the old coinage to its real value and even to make a profit on her recoinage, the ministers of William III. had to spend £2,400,000 on theirs—money which had to be found by the nation in the form of a house and window tax. The work was immediately justified by its results on trade. Before the restoration of the coinage, merchants had often been compelled to make extra payments of 20 or 30 per cent. when they sent money abroad because of the lightness of their coins. Money was an all-important medium of exchange, and it was in the interests of all parties that it should be a medium which carried conviction with it, if trade was to prosper.

Since money was so important, and since it could now be lent at interest to serve as capital for

Early industrial and commercial operations,  
banks: people began to save money and thus to create additional capital for investment, and banks came into existence to make this lending and borrowing easier. There had been banks on the Continent for some centuries, though they had originated in different cities from very

different causes. Among the earliest banks were those of the Italian cities. Some of these owed <sup>in</sup> their origin to the fact that the State Italy had become involved in debt through war, and had granted to its creditors, to whom it was unable to repay the principal they had lent, certain privileges as a company or corporation instead, with the right of transferring their debts to others if necessary, somewhat after the fashion of our buying and selling of stocks and shares ; others were practically companies of merchants who were willing to lend money to kings and governments. On the other hand, the bank and Holland. of Amsterdam was founded in 1609 to help trade by acting as a sort of exchange, in which the great variety of coin current in such a town, much of it so worn and clipped as to be considerably below its nominal value, should be taken from circulation and replaced by standard coin.

In England the banks were a development of the work of the goldsmiths. One of the difficulties in connection with money as a medium of exchange in the <sup>The first English bankers.</sup> Middle Ages had been the great trouble experienced in getting it changed. Money in those days was scarcer than now and did not circulate easily, and the exchangers took advantage of this to make very heavy charges for changing it. Edward III. tried to stop this by appointing a Royal Exchanger and bringing the work of exchanging under State control ; and this system continued till the reign of Henry VIII.

After this the business fell into the hands of the goldsmiths, except for a time during the reign of Charles I., when the office of Exchanger was renewed. The goldsmiths soon began to add money-lending to their work as money exchangers. They were prepared to take valuables in pawn for money or bullion lent. Before 1640 it had been the custom of the merchants to send their surplus money to the Mint, which was then in the Tower of London, as the best place of security, and they were able to withdraw it from thence as they required it. But in that year Charles I. took possession of the money deposited in the Mint to the tune of about £200,000, and after that experience the merchants preferred to keep their surpluses at home. But at the outbreak of the Civil war many merchants were robbed by their apprentices and consequently transferred their money and valuables to the goldsmiths, whose houses were strongly built and guarded because of the treasure in plate, coin, and bullion they were holding. Hence the goldsmiths became bankers, and, after 1645, they lent out at interest the money they held, and began also to borrow money to lend out, so that they were now performing three of the four usual functions of modern banking: they were exchanging money, borrowing money, and lending money. The fourth, the issue of notes, was soon to follow, for they gave receipts for the money lodged with them, and these receipts—"goldsmiths' notes," as they were termed—often changed hands, and may be looked upon as our first English banknotes. The business of



the goldsmiths developed rapidly, and the Government was often glad to borrow from them on the security of the revenue.

For the older methods of obtaining revenue had long been inadequate, and when, in the seventeenth century, the cost of an army and navy, and the expenses of a continental war were added to the previous charges, it was quite impossible for the revenue to meet the demands made upon it. The perfect system of national finance would be one in which the annual income always balances the annual expenses, but with any complex system of government this is, of course, impossible ; for occasions will arise when extraordinary demands will have to be met if the nation is to continue ; as, for example, when it is fighting for its existence against an aggressor who aims at world sovereignty. In early England the king had been expected to " live of his own " ; but from very early times it had been the custom of our kings to borrow money for immediate use and repay it from the taxes as they were collected. It was generally considered beneath the dignity of the sovereign to borrow from a subject, and the loans were taken from the Church or from the foreigner. At the same time much of the extraordinary expenditure, such as that caused by wars, was met by grants called *subsidies*, specially voted for the emergency. The Tudors recognised both the need of money for such special cases and also the danger of obtaining it by heavy taxation, and the accumulation of treasure to meet such occasions was one of the features of

their policy ; a method retained even to-day by Germany.

Parliament seems to have been very unwilling to recognise either the increased cost of living or the increased expenses of the State, Royal  
loans and both Edward IV. and the Tudors were at times compelled to resort to forced loans and benevolences. The extravagance and weak government of the Stuarts speedily placed them in great difficulties, and they often had recourse to the goldsmiths for money, paying generally 8 per cent. for the accommodation, and using the taxes as security. Cromwell also raised money in the same way. In 1672, however, the Government of Charles II. seized the goldsmiths' loans to the amount of £1,328,000, and declared that and royal  
debts. it would only pay interest upon them and not return the capital. Even this interest was not paid until 1677, and it was stopped again in 1683. At the Revolution, 1689, the Royal debt amounted to over a million pounds.

The Government of William III. was very much in want of money to carry on its wars. Expenditure was exceeding income by nearly a million pounds per annum. It was Beginning  
of a  
National  
Debt. difficult to borrow in the ordinary way, for William's credit was not very good, seeing that many looked upon him as a usurper. At the same time, his position upon the throne was much too precarious to allow the Government to venture upon any heavy taxation. A million pounds was raised in 1692 by loans which took the form of life annuities. Ten per cent. was

guaranteed upon these until the end of the century, and 7 per cent. afterwards. The duty on beer was increased to meet this annual charge. This is the beginning of our funded debt. But in the next year more money was again required, and in this extremity, William's ministers, following a precedent already well established in Holland, borrowed in the name of the parliament, that is, of the nation, and made the borrowed money, not a Royal, but a National Debt. In 1694 a loan was raised in this way of £1,200,000, without the Government giving any security for the return of the principal. The lenders were allowed instead to enrol themselves as the Bank of England, and were given the right of receiving deposits of money and of issuing bank-notes. They were also guaranteed a yearly interest of 8 per cent., with an additional £4000 for working expenses, so that the annual payment by the Government amounted to £100,000. The work of the goldsmiths also continued, and the facilities thus provided for borrowing and lending made people more willing to save money, since they could be sure of interest upon it by handing it to the bank to use, when they could not have put it to direct use for themselves. Insurances against fire and death also began to come into use, and the field of financial operations was widened considerably.

The new method of raising funds for purposes of government soon became popular, though at first there was opposition from many who thought it would tend to make the Crown independent of

parliament. But a clause was inserted in the charter of the Bank of England which prohibited it from lending money to the Crown without the consent of parliament, and the main ground of opposition was thus removed, though the landed interest still objected to it as likely to give increased power to the commercial classes. The fact was that the increase in general prosperity had resulted in many people having money to lend with few really safe opportunities of investing it. What was possible in this connection, while the chances of investment were limited, is seen from the ease with which a number of wild projects, culminating in the terrible South Sea Bubble, were floated at most extravagant prices in the first quarter of the eighteenth century. People with money to invest were quite willing to lend to the Government without any prospect of the return of the principal if only their interest were well assured; and the presence of the debt really strengthened the new Government considerably, for their creditors were opposed to the return of the Stuarts, since it might cause the loss of money on their part if the restored monarchy should repudiate the debts incurred under William's regime. The indebtedness of the nation grew rapidly. A loan of £2,000,000 from the new East India Company was added in 1698, to bear interest at 6 per cent.; in 1706 the Government recognised the claim of the goldsmiths to the debt incurred by Charles II., but placed half the amount as an addition to the debt with interest at 6 per

Growth  
of the  
National  
Debt.

cent. At the peace of Ryswick, 1697, the debt was £21,500,000. By the end of William's reign, this had been reduced to £16,400,000, and one-third of the yearly revenue was devoted to the payment of interest upon it. By 1713 the debt had risen to nearly £54,000,000.

This method of borrowing made it possible for the country to embark upon that career of conquest which has given us our Empire throughout the world. At the same time, it made public borrowing a very much easier matter, and it is doubtful

Advantages  
of  
national  
borrowing.

how far one generation is justified in burdening posterity with its own debts. Where it is obvious that posterity is the gainer, it would seem just that they should bear a part of the cost, though even then there arises the question of how many generations really benefit, and therefore within what time the debt should be cleared. It is doubtful whether we are benefiting to-day from some of the charges which were placed upon the debt in the eighteenth century ; it is certain that the

Dangers of  
national  
borrowing.

interest paid on particular portions of the debt has far exceeded the original amount of indebtedness. There is also the danger that ministers with a craving for popularity may embark upon rash enterprises, which would be impossible if the nation had to meet the bill at once. Permanent annual payments of interest may also interfere with essential national developments by causing a lack of the necessary funds ; as they are also sure to interfere with the raising of money by extra taxation when

special needs arise. On the other hand, it is an advantage for the people to have a safe means of investment guaranteed by the State, and allowing of the ready recovery of principal by a sale of the stock when necessary ; and this also tends to prevent rash changes or revolution by making a large number of the people sharers, as it were, in government. But it would certainly seem advisable that in all cases provision should be made for the repayment of the principal within a definite number of years, so that the debt shall be met by those who really benefit from its causes, and in order to prevent large accumulations of debt, the interest on which interferes with national developments and with the raising of special sums of money in cases of sudden emergency.

## CHAPTER XXVII.

### THE BEGINNINGS OF EMPIRE.

AT the close of the fifteenth century England was the possessor of less territory upon the continent of Europe than she had had at any time since the days of Henry II. Of the old possessions, for some of which she had waged war freely though often with but little show of justice, there remained only Calais, the last fragment of Edward the Third's conquests, and the Channel Islands, the sole surviving portion of the old Norman duchy. The rest had been lost by the incapacity of the ministers of Henry VI., and less than a century later Mary's association with Philip of Spain ended in the loss of Calais and left England without a foothold on the Continent.

Nor were affairs within these islands in very much better case. Scotland was a separate kingdom whose association with France made her a neighbour to be watched and feared. No English sovereign could afford to neglect the ever-present danger which threatened from the north. Henry VII. by a marriage alliance and Henry VIII. by a splendid victory on Flodden Field might do something to remove the danger in their time,

but affairs in Scotland caused Elizabeth many anxious moments, and it was some relief to England when James I. united the crowns, though not the parliaments, of the two countries.

The troubles of the Wars of the Roses had reacted in Ireland, which had always favoured the and Yorkist cause, and the Tudor sovereigns Ireland. were faced by an Irish problem of very real difficulty. The men of the Pale, an area comprising the counties of Dublin, Kildare, Louth, and Meath, alone recognised English authority. The old Anglo-Norman families, such as the Fitzgeralds of Kildare and of Desmond, and the Butlers of Ormonde, and even the men of the Pale itself, had a tendency in these days to become "more Irish than the Irish themselves." These latter, the "wild Irish" as they were generally termed, were but half-civilised nomads, clothed in rough kilt and mantle of frieze of native manufacture, who lived upon the produce of their herds and their hunting, and acknowledged no authority outside the tribal laws and customs as these were interpreted and administered by the chiefs of their respective clans. Pretenders to the throne of Henry VII. found Ireland a useful base of operations, just as a century later Philip of Spain attempted to use it as a means of injuring Elizabeth, and caused Walsingham to wish that it might be sunk to the bottom of the sea. Its reconquest was an urgent necessity for political reasons; and there was much in the fertility of the soil and its other natural resources to make it worth using for exploitation and settlement.



It was England's good fortune to enter upon the quest of empire at a later date than her formidable rivals, Spain, Portugal, France, and Holland. Before she had made much progress abroad, she had gone some way towards clearing up her own domestic difficulties. The difficult problems of religion and the true interpretation of the English Constitution had been in part settled ; the solutions arrived at might have been very different ones had the Stuart kings possessed the wealth that the Indies and America had poured into the lap of Philip of Spain. Nor was it a matter of regret that the lands capable of exploitation by slave labour for their mineral wealth had been appropriated by other countries before England entered seriously into the field. She was left instead with more temperate lands at a time when the prosperity of Elizabeth's reign had caused a sufficient increase in population to make colonisation successful and some defence of the colonists reasonably possible.

However, England's first attempts at colonisation, or, to use the term in general use at this time, Her early attempts at colonisation. at plantation, were not made in the New World ; the condition of Ireland drew attention to possibilities nearer home. A succession of capable Deputies, by dint of persuasion, cajolment, bribery, or force of arms, carried on the work of conquest and settlement ; and the defeat of Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone, and consequent subjugation of Ulster, completed the conquest of the island at the end of Elizabeth's

reign. In the process of settlement two methods were possible to the victors: the one, a drastic military overlordship ensuring a peace which would enable the natives to settle down and advance towards civilisation in terms of their own laws and customs; the other, the imposition upon them of English laws, manners and customs, and their displacement from their lands in favour of English settlers.

The latter method was the one generally adopted. Munster was planted in this way in 1586, Ulster

The Irish in 1611; and Cromwell, reconquering plantations the country with terrible severity after the rebellion of 1641, planted his soldiers upon the confiscated lands as a simple means of paying them their arrears of wages, and effectively garrisoning a conquered country. We may take the Elizabethan settlement of Munster as a typical illustration of this plantation policy. Here the territories taken from the Fitzgeralds of Desmond, who had rebelled against the queen's authority, were parcelled out into seigniories of varying size, 12,000, 8000, 6000, or 4000 acres, and allotted to undertakers, who undertook to plant them with English settlers. The settlers were to be carefully graded so that each settlement should form a replica of English country life, with its large farmers, freeholders, copyholders, yeomen, and so on. Heads of families were all to be of English birth, arrangements were to be made so that settlers in one locality should have been neighbours at home, and grants of lands to the Irish were strictly forbidden. Raleigh and Spenser were among those who

undertook the plantation of Munster ; many of the undertakers in a similar plantation of Ulster in the reign of James I. were Scottish Presbyterians, ancestors of the Ulster Protestants of to-day. We must not suppose, however, that the Irish allowed themselves to be thus dispossessed, or that the English undertakers always fulfilled their obligations. There was a natural tendency for the Irish to drift back to their former homes and accept land from the undertakers at rack-rents, while the English settlers often joined with them and became Irish in a couple of generations.

Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, who went to Ireland as Deputy in 1633, in pursuance of his policy of "thorough," did much to develop the natural resources of the country and its grazing and fishing industries. He introduced the manufacture of linen goods ; but even he would do nothing to encourage its woollen industry, as being opposed to English interests. At the Restoration, Ireland was almost a wilderness ; the year 1689 saw the Irish once more upon the losing side, and the victors, by a series of laws known as the Penal Code, ensured the ascendancy of the Protestants in the country. They also took steps to ensure their supremacy in matters of commerce ; a Navigation Act in 1663 forbade Irish-built ships from trading with the colonies, measures were taken in 1666, in the interests of the English graziers, to prevent the export of cattle, sheep, and pigs, and four years later all direct trade with the colonies was prohibited. When the consequent abundance of

Restrictions  
on Irish  
trade and  
industry.

wool and cheapness of living attracted English capitalists, who took workmen to the country and commenced a cloth manufacture, the export of wool and woollens was prohibited except to England, and this was only permitted under duties intended to prevent the woollen manufacture of the "distressful country" from competing with the clothiers of the West of England.

But though the sixteenth century saw the completion of the conquest of Ireland there was but little progress in plantation elsewhere. All Tudor attempts had failed except that in Newfoundland the English were sharing a fishing industry with the French. With the seventeenth century, however, came almost immediately expansion in various parts of the world. Men were prepared to go to live beyond the seas in places where they could build up new homes and new estates, and were willing to become natives of these new lands rather than traders or mining prospectors who looked forward to an early return home. Many grades of Englishmen crossed the ocean, and various kinds of plantations resulted. The old trading stations or factories still remained with their English factors and officials as trade representatives, for the idea of an orderly trade by means of merchant companies still persisted, though in many places it was attacked fiercely by interlopers, men who were unable to obtain a place within the company and tried to trade without it, sometimes to the detriment of the company's trade. We must not underrate the difficulties

Colonial  
expansion  
in the  
seventeenth  
century.

that confronted these early settlers. The distance from home was very great and communication with the mother country was extremely irregular. The colonists were ignorant of the ordinary

Colonial climatic conditions of the country in settlements. which they were settling, and had had no experience in dealing with a native population with whose manners and customs they were quite unfamiliar.

Some colonies developed as places for the production of articles of export, such as tobacco in Transported Virginia, sugar in the West Indies, and so labourers. on. The lands were generally parcelled out into large estates undertaken by the sons of gentlemen seeking a fortune away from home. They were farmed by labourers who were unemployed at home and went out as indentured labourers. After a fixed period of service these labourers became free men and could take up land on their own account, or obtain positions as overseers. They were often badly treated during their period as servitors, but there were others who fared worse, for criminals and prisoners of war were transported in large numbers to serve as bondmen. All who survived the sack of Drogheda were sent to Barbadoes, and the Royalist prisoners at Worcester were similarly deported. Indeed, so important a source of labour did this become that, when the war ceased, kidnapping was resorted to in order to keep up the supply. The slave trade with Africa also developed because of the great demand in the plantations of the West Indies and America for slave labour. Other colonies, however, like the

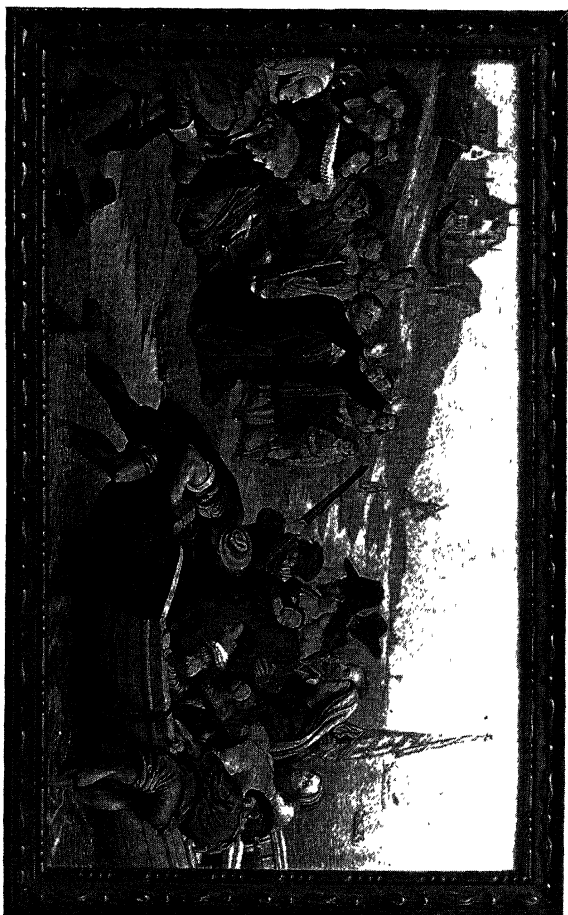
plantations in Ireland, were occupied by settlers who looked rather to farming for subsistence than for export. Many of these went abroad to seek that freedom to follow their own religious and political convictions which they had failed to find in England.

It was especially where development took the form of settlement that good results could be looked for. Spain had exploited her colonies for her own immediate material benefit. France was ruling hers rigidly from Paris, and taking great pains to prevent religious dissidents from entering them. The Dutch were looking upon theirs mainly as trading stations. England alone left hers to develop along their own lines by self-help and self-government, and interfered only in the interests of trade at home, though this interference was sometimes drastic and led to grievances and quarrels. In return her colonies gave England goods which she had previously been forced to seek elsewhere, encouraged her shipping, and formed a market for her now developing industries. The general feeling at home was that the colonists had received benefits in the shape of lands and territories, and might therefore reasonably be expected so to develop and direct their trade as to serve the interests of the mother country.

During the seventeenth century the attempts in the New World were more successful than when Elizabeth was queen. In 1606 two companies undertook to plant the coast-line from Nova Scotia

to Florida—a Plymouth Company in the north and a London Company in the south. In 1607 the London Company made settlements along Chesapeake Bay and founded Jamestown, and in the next year John Smith, the head of the colony, explored the interior and discovered the Potomac and Susquehanna rivers. At first there were too many gentlemen and too few labourers amongst the colonists, and much privation was endured; but when this mistake was rectified progress was rapid, and by 1625 there were over 5000 persons in the colony.

The Plymouth Company made an attempt at plantation farther north on the Kennebec river, but success in this region was not achieved until 1620, when a company of exiled Puritans who had been living in Holland decided to migrate to the New World and found a religious society there. These Pilgrim Fathers landed in Plymouth Bay, Massachusetts, and after years of poverty and struggle and constant warfare with the Indians, a charter was obtained in 1629 establishing the colony of Massachusetts Bay. The religious and political trouble under Charles I. led to a great increase in settlers in these parts. In ten years about 20,000 men went to New England, as the area north of the Hudson river was now called. They included clergy and professional men, and especially many farmers from the eastern counties. In 1643 the colonists combined for their common defence as the United Colonies of New England, the first



THE FOUNDERS OF THE NEW ENGLAND COLONIES. THE PILGRIM FATHERS LEAVING DELFT HAVEN  
IN HOLLAND.  
(*from the painting by C. W. Cope.*)





states in this union being Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut, and Newhaven.

Colonies were now developing rapidly along the coast-line between the Appalachian mountains and the sea. Rhode Island had been established in 1636 by Roger Williams, who had been forced to leave New England ; in 1634 Lord Baltimore, a Roman Catholic, commenced the plantation of Maryland as a state where religious toleration should be a cardinal principle ; Virginia had become a crown colony in 1624. Meanwhile the Dutch had formed the settlement of New Amsterdam at the mouth of the Hudson river, but this was taken from them during the Dutch War in 1664 and renamed New York. Carolina was granted to Lords Albemarle, Ashley, Clarendon, and others in 1663, and in 1682 Quaker settlements were founded under the leadership of William Penn in West Jersey and Pennsylvania. Farther north

The Hudson Bay Company received a Hudson Bay charter in 1670. It was a joint-stock Company. company, whose factors traded mainly with the Indians for furs and managed to hold their own against both French traders and English interlopers.

All the European colonising states were anxious to obtain a footing in the West Indies, and these Colonies were very soon in a flourishing condition. Barbadoes was occupied by the West Indies. English in 1605, and by 1646 had a free population of 20,000, with a government by popular assembly. Other important islands were also occupied—St. Kitts in 1625, Nevis in 1628, Jamaica

by capture from Spain in 1655, the Bahamas in 1671, and several others. The Bermudas were granted to the Virginia Company in 1612, and transferred first to a Bermudan Company and finally, in 1684, to the Crown.

In order to supervise the important and increasing colonial trade, Charles II. created in 1660 two separate Councils for Trade and for Foreign Plantations. These were united in 1672, but were abolished in 1675, and their place taken by a committee of the Privy Council. A permanent Board of Trade was again established in 1695.

In Africa developments were generally on the lines of exclusive joint-stock companies, but the attempts met with but little lasting success until 1672, when the Royal African Company was founded, with a monopoly of the trade from the Cape to Tangier, which had come to England as part of the dowry of the Portuguese bride of Charles II. This company, which succeeded three short-lived Guinea companies, brought home gold, ivory, and dyeing materials, and shared in the slave trade with America. But here the interlopers were more successful than elsewhere. Freed from the cost of maintaining factories, and finding a ready market for their slaves, they succeeded in breaking down the company's monopoly, and in 1698 an Act of Parliament declared trade open to all who paid to the company a duty of 10 per cent. for the maintenance of factories and forts.

The most important of all the companies was the

East India Company, of which we have already spoken. It established factories at Surat, 1609, Madras, 1639, Hughli, 1650, and for India. ten years from 1613 also had factories in Japan. Bombay, another portion of the dowry of Catherine of Braganza, was leased to the company in 1668, and in 1686 Job Charnock, the Governor in Bengal, moved the Hughli settlement twenty-seven miles down the river to the site of the modern Calcutta. At the outset the company's policy was one of commercial settlement only, and its traders were hampered by Portuguese and Dutch rivalry and by troubles with the natives. The company had obtained from Charles II. the right of making peace or war on its own responsibility, and a policy of conquest and acquisition was commenced, especially after 1685, when the control of the company was mainly in the hands of Sir Josiah Child. Towards the close of the century there was serious trouble with interlopers, who challenged the company's monopoly and obtained an Act of Parliament in 1698 permitting them to trade as a new company, wherever the original company had not already obtained privileges. For some years there was keen rivalry between the companies. This was ended, however, in 1708 by their combination as the United Company, and after that there came a period of quiet prosperity.

While enterprising Englishmen were thus laying the foundations of Empire abroad, trouble had arisen at home through the natural desire of the Scots to share in the new commercial enterprises.

Matters between England and Scotland were also complicated by the possibility of the Scots choosing a Stuart as king at the death of Anne. In 1685 the Scottish parliament sanctioned an enterprise put forward by William Paterson for the establishment of a Scottish colony on the isthmus of Darien or Panama. English traders opposed the enterprise as likely to injure England's trade. The Scots were very indignant at this, and raised the necessary money at home without help from English merchants. Three expeditions were fitted out, but all proved failures, for the climate made colonisation impossible.

Strained relations between the countries followed, and there were threats of separation on the part of Scotland. Closer union between the two countries was necessary ; England insisted upon a legislative rather than a federal union, and finally an Act of Union was passed in 1707 uniting the two countries under the name of Great Britain. There was to be one parliament for this United Kingdom ; complete freedom of trade was established between the countries at home and abroad ; and a considerable sum of money was paid to Scotland for accepting obligations in respect of our National Debt and as recompense for losses inflicted by English trading companies. Some of this money went to wind up the unfortunate Darien Company, and some was used for the furtherance of Scottish manufactures and industries. Neither country has had cause to regret the union then effected.

Thus at the beginning of the eighteenth century England was closely united to Scotland, and had settled Ireland, though in no satisfactory fashion to the Irish, while by the Treaty of Utrecht, 1713, she became the possessor of territory in all parts of the world. Her possessions included Gibraltar and Minorca; a large number of settlements in India; the island of St. Helena; factories at Gambia, Gold Coast, and Lagos; many of the West India islands; the Atlantic seaboard from Florida to the mouth of the St. Lawrence; and the territories of the Hudson Bay Company—no inconsiderable achievement in the first century of colonial expansion.

## CHAPTER XXVIII.

### A STANDING ARMY AND A POWERFUL NAVY.

THE cares of Empire which England was now assuming, and the new industrial and commercial developments with their dependence upon an oversea trade, led to important alterations in the methods adopted to preserve the homeland from invasion and to protect the colonies and the trade abroad. Moreover, with the accession of William III., whose interests were mainly continental and antagonistic to France, England was drawn into the whirlpool of continental quarrels and was compelled to share in European troubles. In order to be able to intervene effectively, and even in order to preserve England from invasion, it became necessary to overhaul the naval and military system of the country and devise fresh methods of meeting with the changed situation.

England had never possessed a standing army until the Long Parliament called one into existence in 1645. The early English, like all Teutonic races, had expected every man between the ages of sixteen and sixty to serve for a period of two months in the year in the *fyrð* or national militia. This force was carefully

organised and effectively used against the Danes by Alfred the Great, but in times of peace there was a tendency for it to become slack and ineffective. The Danish kings kept around them a special bodyguard of soldiers known as the Huscarls. These were in effect a small standing army, and a personal guard of this kind was also used by Harold Godwinsson.

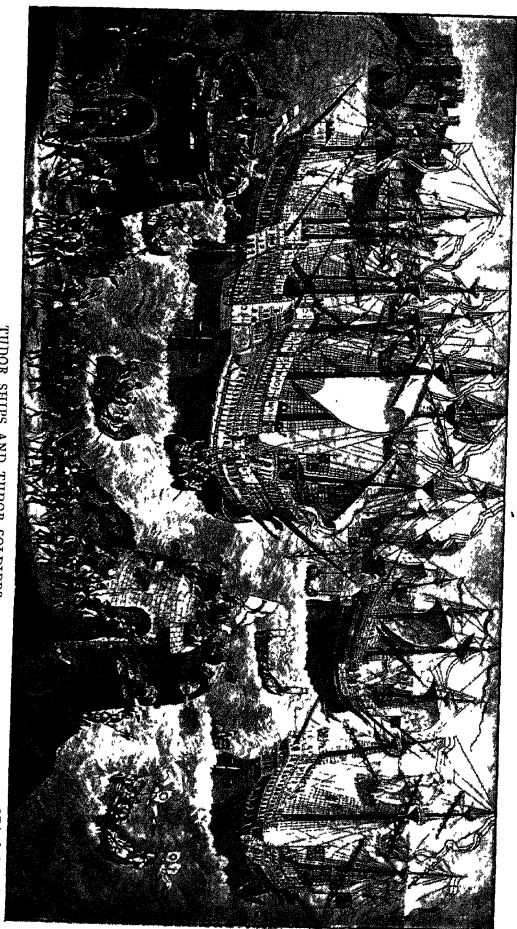
The Norman kings followed the feudal custom of knight-service in return for land, and could probably obtain the services of nearly 7000 knights in this way. But they found it useful also to employ mercenary troops, or paid soldiers, in their foreign wars ; and there were times, as in the wars of Stephen's reign, when feudal forces proved dangerous to the royal supremacy. It was to guard against this danger that the kings retained and employed the old English *fyrð*. Henry II. especially did much to strengthen the *fyrð* by the Assize of Arms, 1181, which compelled all freemen to possess arms according to their station in life. He also instituted scutage, or the acceptance of a money payment in place of knight-service, and used the money so obtained to hire mercenaries for service in his wars. All through Plantagenet

The use of mercenaries. The use of times the English people protested against the use of mercenary troops in England ; one of the clauses of Magna Carta insists on their banishment from the realm. Sometimes only a portion of the *fyrð* was employed, and this led to the establishment of *Commissions of Array*, by which Royal officers were



authorised to impress or levy a certain number of men from certain shires for military service. Such a system was easily open to abuse, and as the original service of the *fyrð* had been essentially local, parliament protested, and Acts, such as the Militia Act of 1327, were passed, declaring that except in case of invasion the members of the *fyrð* should not leave their respective counties, and then only with the consent of parliament and at the king's expense. The continental wars of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries could only be carried on by a paid army, and this led to the formation of free companies of troops under leaders who lent them to the king at fixed rates of pay. Before the wars were over the practice of keeping retainers in the pay of nobles was well established—a practice which led to dire results in the Wars of the Roses.

The Tudors came to the throne as peace sovereigns ; but it was often necessary for them to raise troops both for home and for foreign service, and commissions of array were issued by them and also by James I. and Charles I. Henry VII. also established a body-guard of soldiers who still remain as the Yeomen of the Guard. Henry VIII. did much to improve the national artillery. The *fyrð* was revived by Edward VI. and by Mary. These sovereigns also made use of mercenaries, and Protector Somerset used German soldiers to suppress the rising in Norfolk under Ket. Elizabeth finally abandoned the use of such troops, even though the militia was no longer reliable, and the use of the long-bow—



TUDOR SHIPS AND TUDOR SOLDIERS.

Henry VIII. embarking at Dover for the Field of the Cloth of Gold, 1520.  
(From the painting by Holbein at Hampton Court Palace.)

Wickelgill. phot.



England's favourite weapon—was greatly decayed. Elizabeth was generally able to raise the troops she required for her expeditions to Spain and the Low Countries by means of volunteers, but sometimes levies were necessary and men were collected from the gutter and the gaol. Such methods proved extremely unpopular in Stuart times. The Petition of Right protested against the billeting of troops on private citizens and against martial law, and one of the first Acts of the Long Parliament was to condemn commissions of array and compulsory impressment of soldiers for foreign service as illegal.

The question of the control of the national militia was one of the immediate causes of the  
The Civil War. war between Charles and his parliament, for with it went the direction of such forces as the country possessed, and the possession of the stores and munitions of war which were collected in each county for its use. But the forces obtainable in this way were not very efficient ; the danger from Spain and the needs of the Low Countries had led to some revival of military training in Elizabeth's day, but it is doubtful whether much of this had been kept up except in the case of the London train-bands. A few Englishmen and more Scots had seen service in the Thirty Years' War, and the experience they gained there made them useful commanders when war broke out. This war established once more the importance of cavalry as an effective fighting arm. The country gentleman who rode to hounds daily proved himself a dashing horse soldier,

and Prince Rupert and Goring provided him with fitting leaders. But Cromwell proved him-

Rupert self an equally efficient leader and a  
and more capable organiser and handler of  
Cromwell. troops

Under his leadership the yeomen farmers of the eastern counties became the famous Ironsides of Marston Moor and Naseby, and spoiled the hopes of Charles. Yet, even so, they were unable to end the war without the aid

of better infantry, and a New Model  
The New Model army was organised in 1645 This force  
Model army, 1645 was a real standing army of professional soldiers, definitely enlisted for a fixed period of national service wherever required, carefully drilled by their officers, paid at a definite rate, and under the control of a single commander. This army continued throughout the Commonwealth period, and did good work in Scotland and Ireland, and on the Continent in 1658 at the Battle of the Dunes. So important, indeed, was the force, that the Instrument of Government which attempted to formulate a new English constitution in 1653, provided for a standing army of 30,000 men.

Unfortunately, when victory had been established for the parliament by this New Model army, the

Dislike of a standing army in England. soldiers were used in unconstitutional ways, and the idea of a standing army became abhorrent to the English people as the symbol of tyranny.

Hence one of the first demands of the Restoration parliament was for its disbandment, and 50,000 soldiers were dismissed from the service

of the Crown. The prospect of rebellion enabled Charles II. to retain one or two regiments, and these were made the nucleus of a new standing army. It consisted of about 5000 men—not enough, that is, to appear dangerous even to the most pronounced opponent. It included General Monck's Coldstream Guards, some cavalry, and several garrisons of troops. The increased prosperity of the kingdom enabled the king to add to these forces at different times during his reign without asking parliament for monetary assistance, and in 1685 he had at his disposal some 7000 troops, including the Foot Guards, the Coldstream Guards, and a few regiments of the line, three troops of Life Guards, and another body of household cavalry known as the Blues, together with some regiments of dragoons, who were at that time practically mounted infantry. There were also separate forces in Scotland and Ireland. Additional troops were raised for the Dutch and French wars, but though the Restoration parliament had voted that the sole command of any force by land or sea and of the national militia was in the hands of the Crown, successive parliaments looked with grave suspicion upon the king's augmented forces. In 1667 the Commons asked for the disbandment of 12,000 troops raised for the Dutch war; in 1673, when levies were again raised for war with the Dutch, parliament protested against maintaining any troops except the militia; in 1678, when 20,000 soldiers were enlisted to fight the French, their disbandment was again requested.

The fact was that the militia was popular with

all classes, the standing army with none. The successors of the Cavaliers remembered Pride's Purge and the execution of Charles I., and looked upon the army as the instrument of Oliver's worst tyrannies. The Puritans and Roundheads saw in it a possible instrument of kingly absolutism. The militia, on the other hand, was a local force in which the country gentry drilled their own tenants, and thus emphasised their social position in the county, at the same time as they gained a certain amount of gratification from playing at soldiering. The militia was therefore remodelled by the parliament, and various grades of people were required to furnish horse or foot, according to their means. The king was the recognised head of this force, and the lords-lieutenant of the counties held office under him. The general arrangements were made upon a county basis, drills were not to exceed fourteen days a year, none of the cost in peace times was to be borne by the Crown. In this way it was possible to raise a more or less effective force of 130,000 men for home defence.

Charles II. was much too shrewd either to trust the army too far, or to imperil his position by enlarging it too much. James II. tried to get a strong standing army as an instrument for enforcing his absolute rule, and lost the confidence of the nation in so doing, without gaining the support of the army he had raised. The Bill of Rights declared that to keep a standing army in time of peace was illegal, unless it were kept with the consent of parliament. But the accession of William III. and the association of England in his continental

wars made a standing army an absolute necessity ; for it was obviously impossible to expect the

The English county militia to resist the  
county trained soldiers of France. The best  
militia. that could be hoped for was that the

need for such a force would speedily pass away. A mutiny of a Scottish regiment at Ipswich on behalf of James II. brought home to the parliament the necessity of disciplining the army and placing it under special military law. But neither party could be brought to acquiesce in the formation of a permanent force, and the difficulty was met by passing a Mutiny Act, which began by declaring that standing armies and courts-martial were unknown to the law of England, and then made arrangements for the maintenance

of a certain number of troops and  
English forces for military discipline under military  
on the law. As an additional precaution, the  
Continent, Act was only to be in force for six  
1689-1713. months, and all money for the army

was voted for one year only. But the Act had to be renewed from year to year, for from 1689 to 1697 under William III. and his generals, and again at the beginning of the eighteenth century under Marlborough, the British Army was fighting upon the Continent. In 1690 parliament voted 70,000 men for service in Flanders, and they shared in the defeats of William at Steinkirk and Landen. But in these campaigns they served that apprenticeship in military matters which made them the finest fighting force in Europe, and made possible the victories of Blenheim,



Ramillies, Malplaquet, and Oudenarde; victories which did something to lessen the mistrust in a standing army which still remained among the English people.

Importance  
of the  
navy to  
England.

Fortunately for England, the necessity of a powerful navy has long been recognised, and our sailors have never come under the suspicion once attached to the office of soldier. Yet there have been times when trouble has arisen in connection with the fleet, and the attempt of Charles I. to force the payment of ship money upon the inland counties was one of the grievances which helped to bring about the Civil war. All readers will know that during the Napoleonic war impressment was freely employed to provide sailors for the ships; all may not be aware that this method of manning the fleet is still a legal possibility. We are not likely to forget at the present time what the navy means to us in England, but we have been apt to forget in times of peace that the navy has stood between us and foreign invasion for seven hundred years. In the words of the Articles of War, the regulations which provide for the discipline and general government of our army and navy: "It is upon the navy that, under the providence of God, the wealth, prosperity, and the peace of these islands and of the Empire do mainly depend." And it is easy to see from even a cursory glance at the nation's past history, that her times of greatness have always coincided with her times of sea power; with the occasions on which she has possessed a powerful

navy and has found the best means of defence to consist in an attack by the fleet upon the coasts and shipping of her enemies.

Alfred the Great found that he could best resist the Danes by preventing their landing, and there-

Develop-  
ment of  
our navy.

fore ordered warships to be built which were superior in size and equipment to those of his antagonists. The inactivity of Harold's fleet made the conquest of England a very much easier matter for William I. The Normans quickly recognised the value of a fleet, and took steps to have one ready when occasion arose by incorporating certain towns on the south-east coast—the Cinque Ports—and granting to them certain trading and other privileges in return for the provision of ships and men for a certain number of days yearly. This practice continued throughout the Middle Ages, and little effort was made to form a navy consisting of ships of war. The presence of pirates in the Channel made it essential that every ship should go armed, and it was easy to use these armed merchantmen as warships when occasion arose. Moreover, during these years one main use of the navy was the conveyance of soldiers to the Continent to fight in the wars with France, and merchant ships did very well for this purpose. Nor was there yet any great development in naval tactics and naval strategy: the fleet sailed in a broad line of ships abreast; ship ran against ship as much as possible according to size; the ships grappled, and the fight became practically a land battle fought out upon the decks of the ships. As tactics played

so small a part the ships were filled with soldiers, and knights in armour and men-at-arms and archers played the same part on sea as on the land. Whenever her king was a strong monarch, England was able to claim the title of " Mistress of the Narrow Seas "; when her ruler was weak she suffered much from pirates who plundered her shipping and her seacoast towns. To keep ships in commission as a royal navy was as yet unthought of ; even when kings like the Edwards built royal ships, they were used for mercantile purposes in times of peace. It was not until the reign of Henry V. that an improvement was made in this direction ; he built some ships of war to help in his French conquests, and his efforts to make for England an efficient fleet have caused him to be looked upon by many as the Father of the English Navy.

But this title belongs rather to Henry VIII., who was greatly interested in naval warfare, and Henry VIII. did much to organise the navy as a  
and the fighting force. An efficient navy was  
navy. one of the items of the Tudor policy of power, and this branch of that policy was especially developed by him. He established dockyards for building and repairing ships ; fortified Gravesend and Tilbury ; encouraged the designing and building of new types of war vessels ; paid much attention to naval tactics ; and appointed commissioners to attend to the details of naval administration. Our modern navy began to come into existence under his fostering care, and it quickly proved its value in several encounters with the French. All this was useful preparation

for the days of Elizabeth, when the sea-dogs of Devon and the west were venturing across the

The Atlantic and were fighting on the Spanish  
 sea-dogs main. By this time there had evolved  
 of Devon. a warship well suited for English seas  
 and English weather, a ship that compared well  
 with the Spanish ships, lay low in the water,  
 kept an even keel, could sail near the wind and  
 respond quickly to changes of helm, and a ship  
 which carried a very heavy armament for its size.  
 At the same time came a new form of tactics  
 admirably suited for these ships ; the old boarding  
 tactics following on a movement of the ships in  
 line abreast were now replaced by a movement in  
 line ahead, which took full advantage of the sailing  
 abilities of the ships and enabled them to use

the heavy broadside guns with which  
 the ships were fitted. It was these  
 changes which made the defeat of the  
 Spanish Armada certain, though even  
 in this fight only thirty-four of one  
 hundred and ninety-seven English ships engaged  
 were royal ships.

Under James I. our navy deteriorated sadly,  
 while the Dutch were improving theirs. Charles I.

tried to restore it to the state in which  
 Elizabeth had left it ; but when the  
 The navy under the Elizabethan Common-wealth. Civil war broke out, the Protestant  
 feeling in the fleet and the hatred of  
 Spain, both legacies from the time of Elizabeth,  
 caused the seamen to declare for the parliament,  
 and the fleet, under the Earl of Warwick, helped  
 greatly by its command of the seas in gaining the

victory over the king. The necessity of taking up a strong position in the face of Europe and a determination to preserve the Empire intact caused Cromwell to have a navy on a large scale. Between 1649 and 1651 forty-one new ships of war were added, the British navy became the largest in the world, and Cromwell was able to interfere effectively in the Mediterranean and elsewhere. The ships were kept always in commission, and officers and men found continual employment. It still remained the custom to appoint soldiers to the command, and Blake, whose chief experience of fighting had been his defence of Bridgewater, was made Admiral. But Blake amply justified his choice as a successor of Drake and the Elizabethan seamen, and the navy was known and feared throughout Europe. Even the neglect and corruption of the reign of Charles II. did not prevent it from winning great victories over the

Dutch, though in 1667 the ships were laid up for want of supplies, and the Dutch were able to enter the Medway, burn several ships and escape uninjured. During this reign came the first parliamentary recognition of the navy as a separate organisation requiring a separate vote for maintenance, and special articles of war for its discipline.

At the Revolution of 1688, whatever jealousy existed in the minds of the people with respect to the standing army, there was none in the matter of the navy. Its exploits had been directed at foes without and not at fellow-citizens within the kingdom. It had behind it the prestige that came

The Dutch  
in the  
Medway,  
1667.

from Drake and Grenville, from the undying story of the Armada, and from the victories of Blake. Besides this the growth of commerce, the extensions of the carrying trade, and the beginnings of colonisation made a navy an imperative necessity. The developments of naval tactics also made a separation of the services necessary, a fact which the French had recognised as early as 1672. William's defeats on land were more than com-

Victory of La Hogue, 1692.      compensated for by the victory at La Hogue in 1692, when the French ships were defeated in the Channel, chased into harbour, and burned as they lay in port. After that no invasion of England was to be feared during the war. At the end of the century Marlborough

Capture of Gibraltar, 1704.      saw the necessity of making the fleet strong in the Mediterranean; in the year 1704 Gibraltar was captured; the policy begun by Cromwell became the fixed policy of English statesmen, and a strong Mediterranean fleet remained an important portion of our naval dispositions until the rearrangement effected a few years ago through the growth of a large German navy and our friendship with France.

## CHAPTER XXIX.

### SCHOOLS AND SCHOLARS IN THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES.

WITH the Renaissance our modern educational methods and ideals begin to come into operation.

Beginnings  
of modern  
education. The Revival of Learning led naturally to an increased interest in education, and many important writers of western Europe paid much attention to this subject. Rabelais, Erasmus, Montaigne, Ascham, and others pointed out the importance of good methods in education, criticised the existing methods and curricula in schools and universities, and suggested important alterations which led to some changes being made. These critics of existing conditions were very much disgusted with the usual course of studies. They found that the children in the schools were not being fitted for their life as men and citizens. The schools were making grammarians, but not gentlemen. Children were taking the opinions and knowledge of others into their possession without making it in any sense their own. The scholarship they were acquiring was mere book-learning without any application to, or association with, real life. The new Humanistic conception of life said that life was something to be developed to its fullest

extent, and this involved the moral and physical as well as the mental capacity of each individual. To do this, however, meant changes in the curriculum. The classics, and especially Latin, were still to remain the most important subject in the curriculum, but it was the intention of the reformers that the classics should be studied as literature, and not as a medium for grammar and construing. Other subjects too crept in: physical training; a study of nature at first hand; geography and history. The methods to be employed were to be as gentle and attractive as the older ones had been harsh and repulsive. Instruction was to be cheerful and pleasant; learning was to come by doing; work was to be mixed with play; much was to be learned out-of-doors by travel and observation. Greater attention was also paid to the education of girls. They were given opportunities of studying the same subjects as boys, and some of the women of the Renaissance, such as Lady Jane Grey and Elizabeth, became good scholars.

But, although the sixteenth century opened with such admirable educational ideals, little real change took place. The new education degenerated into a study of the classics which was quite as formal as the old scholastic training. There was little change in method. The study of language was never looked at from the standpoint of the boys. To the enthusiasts, who were reveling in the glories of the new-found literatures of Greece and Rome, grammar seemed a necessary, if difficult, step to that enjoyment. They felt



that the reading was well worth the struggle with the grammar. But the boys in school did not realise this and felt only the drudgery; indeed, many of them never got beyond that stage. Nor were they helped by the brutality of the punishments to which they were subjected.

Meanwhile, another class of educational critics was appearing in England in the middle class

The education of the Tudor middle classes.	population of the towns, who were rising to wealth with the development of industry and commerce. They were very much interested in education, and had the great advantage of being able to send their children to
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whatever type of school they pleased, for they were too rich to be compelled to accept the traditional curriculum of the grammar schools, or even of such schools as Eton and Winchester. Moreover, their commercial pursuits brought them into close touch with continental life, and they were anxious to introduce into the education of their children all that they found best there. These persons were as disgusted with the usual course of studies at schools and universities as ever the Humanists had been. When their children left these institutions they were in no wise fitted for their work in life or for a place in the court or in society. Modern languages, so useful in society and in business, were in no school curriculum; arithmetic, mathematics, science, or law could be learned in none of the schools; nor could a boy learn there the accomplishments, such as fencing, dancing, deportment, and heraldry,

which were valued so highly in society. What these parents wanted was a training which should fit their children for practical life, whereas the work of the schools seemed totally divorced from life. They asked, therefore, for a curriculum which should contain modern languages, including the mother tongue, mathematics, geography and history, music and painting, and, above all, training in good manners, in tact in social life, and in good behaviour based on moral principles.

How far the schools were from such an ideal may readily be seen from the curriculum of some of the best of them. At Eton in 1530

School work  
in the  
sixteenth  
and  
seventeenth  
centuries.

the school assembled for prayers at six in the morning and worked until nine. A quarter of an hour was allowed for breakfast, and then work was resumed until eleven. Then came dinner, followed by afternoon work until five o'clock. The first form spent the whole of every morning at Latin accidence or prosody or prose composition; the sixth and seventh continued much upon the same lines. At Winchester in the sixteenth century the first bell roused the boys from sleep all the year round at five o'clock. They had then to dress, make their beds, clear up their dormitories, and be ready for morning chapel by half-past five. Then they went into the cold and cheerless schoolroom, without fire-place or other means of heating, and worked till nine, when they had a breakfast of bread and beer in the dining-hall. Middle school came after a two hours' interval, and lasted an hour.

Dinner was at twelve, and school resumed from two till five, with a short interval about half-past three for "bevers," which consisted of bread and beer. At five supper was served in the hall, and then the boys occupied their chambers until eight. Then came evensong in the chapel, and so to bed. At Westminster in the sixteenth century the boys rose at five and washed in the cloisters. Morning school lasted from six to eight, the work done being Latin and Greek grammar, authors, and prosody. Then came breakfast, followed by Latin exercises and translations from nine to eleven, then dinner, then school from one to three, and again from four to six. At six came supper, to be followed by study until eight, and then bed. Saints' days were whole holidays, and one half-day a week was also granted to the boys. In all cases a narrow and formal study of classical texts and exercises in Latin prose and verse formed the chief basis of the curriculum. Whatever children were designed for, whatever prospects the position of their parents gave them, all went through the same course. Horace and Virgil were thumbed by the boy who was going to be an apprentice as much as by the boy who was intended for the university. The schoolmasters were trained in the classical tradition, and resolutely opposed all efforts at reform. The schools were cold, bare, and forbidding; with their harsh punishments they must have seemed more like prisons than places of happiness.

From the time of the Reformation two im-

portant types of schools for higher education had been in existence : the public boarding-schools, like Eton and Winchester, which drew pupils from all parts of the country, and day schools, like St. Paul's and Merchant Taylors' in London, which provided an education for the sons of well-to-do parents living in the larger towns. A few schools such as Shrewsbury tended to combine the two types. The Reformation necessarily interfered with the work of education by the Church, and some grammar schools lost their endowments. It was intended to use some of the money obtained from the dissolved monasteries for educational purposes, but little was used in this way. Much was done, however, by private liberality to restore existing foundations and to create new ones ; more than one hundred and thirty free grammar schools were founded or remodelled in Elizabeth's reign alone ; and King Edward VI.

New and Queen Elizabeth grammar schools in various parts of the country tell the same tale, though we must remember that the money which founded or remodelled these was in most cases the money of private citizens. Such schools were for the benefit of the upper and middle classes ; there was no system of education as yet in which all the poor could share, and poor boys and girls went early to work. Something began to be done for the orphans of citizens by the foundation of orphanages. Christ's Hospital, founded on the site of the Greyfriars friary in Newgate Street, London, developed into an important institution for the care of children. Only the

girls of the upper classes had much or any education. The girls of the lower classes found plenty of work in household duties, for a woman's share in the affairs of house and home was still very considerable. Baking, brewing, the preparation of medicines, care of the garden and the poultry were hers, together with spinning and weaving as by-occupations for the evenings, and much farming work was done by women.

Thus the new schools were intended for those children of well-to-do parents of whom we have already spoken ; and their persistence in the classical tradition and their opposition to the introduction of modern subjects at a time when these were in great demand led to their decline. In some schools the pressure was too great to be altogether resisted, and, little by little, the new subjects gained an entrance. But even then they were only allowed entrance as additional subjects of inferior type, taught out of the ordinary school hours by masters of inferior standing. It was in this way that writing and arithmetic, and later, algebra and geometry, obtained practical recognition. English and French literature, and accomplishments like fencing and drawing, were regarded as holiday occupations ; the frequency of occasional holidays and the absence of organised athletics and compulsory play left plenty of time for such purposes.

As the nobility and well-to-do classes generally kept their sons at home and refused to allow them to attend the schools and universities, other means

of educating them had to be found, and many experiments were made. One favourite means of education at this time was that of the private tutor. Parents who could afford to do so engaged a young man to act as the educator of their sons at home, and then, as the boys got older, at school and university, and on the grand tour of the Continent, which was often the finish of a boy's education. Hence we find boys attending public schools like Eton and Westminster, and also the universities, under the care of a private tutor, who was supposed to look after a boy's morals and supply the educational deficiencies of the curriculum. Sometimes this acted well ; sometimes the private tutor's influence on the boy was bad.

Some parents preferred to send their children to France to benefit by the training they could get in the academies there. But, in spite of the evident failure of school or in foreign academies, and university to meet the new conditions of life, there were grave misgivings as to the advisability of trusting young English gentlemen in foreign academies. The influence of France and Italy on them was in many cases a bad one ; and with the development of Puritanism greater attention was being paid to moral education. But there is still the feeling of the necessity of training the boy to be a gentleman, and neither school nor university provided for this. Scholar and man of the world seemed at this time to be totally opposed terms. The way of reform seemed only possible by means of new institutions ; it was

useless to attempt to remodel the existing schools and universities.

Instead of going to the university, many young men finished their earlier education by attending  
or in the the Inns of Court. In this way they  
Inns of got the benefit of London society and  
Court, the advantage of association with the  
members of the Inns. This afforded them a  
valuable introduction to public life and public  
affairs. Private and proprietary schools also  
flourished in the towns, owing to the demand for  
modern subjects and the unwillingness of many

or in better-class parents to have their  
private children educated along with the poor.  
schools. These schools were very successful in  
many cases. Some of the best of the grammar  
school masters opened such schools, and, freed  
from the tradition of the grammar school, they  
became progressive and very capable educationists.  
Sometimes, too, the private tutors of noble  
families, whose services were no longer required,  
would open select schools of this type. The  
troubles of the Civil war helped in their develop-  
ment, for masters on both sides who lost their  
places in the grammar schools began to open  
such schools. Arithmetic, French, writing, and  
commercial subjects were taught, and boarders  
were taken.

Finally, after 1662, another valuable kind of  
school was added in the academies founded by  
the Nonconforming clergy who were then ejected  
from their livings. As these clergymen had had  
a university training, the classics formed a most

important subject in their schools, but modern subjects of all kinds were added, and much stress was laid on English. The Nonconformist academies became a very important type of school, and are in many respects the forerunners of modern private schools of secondary type.

It is obvious that the success of these new institutions was only possible at the expense of

The older school and university, which continued to decline. Even the developments in science which were taking place during the seventeenth century and owed much to the work of university men, were carried on outside their walls. The year 1662 saw the foundation of the Royal Society, which originated in the meeting of a number of gentlemen interested in science. They held their first meetings in and near Oxford, then they came to London and were incorporated in 1662 as the Royal Society of London. Many of the individual members were or had been closely associated with the universities. Among them were many illustrious members of the church and the aristocracy, as well as scholars like Wilkins and Newton. Yet the work of the Society was entirely separated from that of the universities, and the members of these institutions often attacked the Society and were jealous of its work.

Such were the conditions of higher education in the England of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It is little wonder that the endowed schools and universities declined in public estimation and entered upon a period of stagnation



which continued throughout the eighteenth century, and reacted seriously upon English higher education. The education of girls also deteriorated, and by the second half of the seventeenth century English women were worse educated than at any time since the Revival of Learning. As for the children of the poor, their education can scarcely be said to have commenced. They were hurried to work at an early age, and grew up in many cases in almost total ignorance. Yet by the close of the seventeenth century a movement was commencing to provide them also with education. Charity schools were coming into existence, and just as the century was closing the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge was established and began to take in hand the question of the education of the masses. The movement was in no sense a State movement, it depended entirely upon the voluntary efforts of private individuals, and in its basis was essentially religious. Its developments are part of the history of English education during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.





INTERIOR OF A TUDOR BUILDING. KING'S COLLEGE CHAPEL,  
CAMBRIDGE.

Notice the beautiful fan-tracery vaulting of the ceiling, and the mullions and transoms of the Perpendicular Gothic windows.

## CHAPTER XXX.

### A FAMOUS BUILDER.

THE Tudor period was marked by much activity in building, directed along somewhat different lines from those taken by the great builders of the Middle Ages. It is in domestic architecture that the sixteenth century excels. The desire for beautiful churches was being replaced by a desire for more comfortable and more imposing houses, and in the years of peace which followed the accession of Henry VII. the English devoted much attention to the erection of houses and palaces. The building and restoration of churches followed the tradition of perpendicular Gothic, which had been the form used in the fifteenth century, and there was little or no alteration in this form, or development of it. On the other hand the increased prosperity of the upper and middle classes brought with it a desire for greater privacy, comfort, and convenience, and this showed itself in the building of new houses and mansions and the alteration and extension of many existing ones to meet the new desires. There was also much building of public institutions of various kinds, including many colleges and other buildings at Oxford and Cambridge. Some of the architectural tendencies of

the new age may also be well studied in the many sumptuous tombs of marble and alabaster which were placed in the old Gothic churches.

In these developments two main tendencies are at work. The Renaissance had caused the

Italians to abandon the Gothic style  
 Influence of the Renaissance on architecture. which they had never really admired, and to return in great measure to the forms of building of the Romans.

In this return to the classical they were, however, influenced by modern needs. In their revival two main features are especially noticeable ; the use of the dome as the crowning glory of their public edifices, and the use of the open courtyard surrounded by arcades, in the planning of their mansions. The decorations with which their buildings were loaded were of course classical ; Gothic columns were replaced by classical columns surmounted with capitals of the older classical type—Tuscan, Doric, Ionic, Corinthian, or Composite ; the ornaments of Greek and Roman buildings were revived, modified, and adapted.

These new ideas came to England as early as the reign of Henry VII., and Italian influence is visible

in the architecture of his reign, and in  
 Early Renaissance architecture in England. that of his son. But side by side with these new Renaissance ideas there remained the older English building

tradition, strengthened by the manifold examples of Gothic architecture which were present on all sides. Consequently Renaissance architecture was slow in forcing its way into the country. The first uses of Renaissance work were in the direction

of ornament. The main planning and designing of the building remained English, while the ornamentation was Renaissance ; the building was the work of English masons, while its decoration was entrusted to Italian carvers and sculptors. The magnificent chapel of Henry VII. in Westminster Abbey is one of the crowning triumphs of English perpendicular Gothic architecture ; the tomb of Henry and his queen, and that of his mother, are Gothic altar tombs richly decorated by Italian workers in Renaissance forms.

It was especially in this ornamentation that Renaissance art found a place in England. The ball flower, Tudor rose, and other Gothic forms were now replaced by wreaths and festoons of foliage and flowers. Shields or escutcheons containing coats of arms were freely employed, and were often supported by cherubs and other figures. These ornaments were used in great profusion and in a variety of materials. Terra-cotta, plaster, wood, and metal are all to be found in use. Terra-cotta plaques of Italian workmanship may be seen in the Tudor portions of Hampton Court Palace, which was built by Cardinal Wolsey and Henry VIII. Inside the houses of the rich, plaster-work began to be common, chimney-pieces and ceilings especially show Italian ideas at work, and doorways, windows, staircases, and the screens of college halls and the halls of the Inns of Court all show the same influence. But with the Reformation the influence of Italian work in England came to a sudden stop, and was replaced, in the reigns of Elizabeth and James I., by that of Flemish and German work.

This was neither so skilful nor so artistic nor so correct as the Italian work had been.

By the end of the Tudor period, however, Renaissance architecture was established in England

in form if not in spirit. The old informal and variable Gothic methods were now being replaced by the more formal and symmetrical Renaissance forms. Semi-

Its effect upon the building of churches circular arches replaced the Gothic pointed ones ; the Gothic buttresses were changed for classical columns and piers ; the beautiful towers of late Gothic churches were no longer built on the newer edifices, their place being ultimately taken by the dome. New requirements were helping in the establishment of these new forms. The sermon was becoming an all-important part of the service of the church, and, for the sermon, two things at any rate were necessary—seating accommodation for a large congregation, and a view of the preacher for as many as possible. Hence the long-drawn aisles and multiplied columns of the Gothic church gave place to an opener form of building ; the length of St. Paul's Cathedral from west front to dome is a little over 200 feet, and this is carried upon two massive and three smaller piers ; at Westminster Abbey a nave length of 320 feet is supported by twelve columns. In private houses,

and private houses. too, the earlier importance of the hall was rapidly passing away. The multiplication of smaller rooms and the building of long galleries as meeting-places for conversation and, at times, for dancing, left the hall more or less useless except as a means of communication be-

tween different parts of the house. Moreover, as many of the important rooms of the house were situated upon the first floor, this communication had to be carried on by means of a staircase, which therefore became one of the important features of the house, and much decoration was lavished on it.

The increased importance of the house led also to alterations in its general plan and arrangement. Two main types of houses developed from the older English forms of the Middle Ages : the one, the courtyard type, associated with the older castle and the Italian palace ; the other an **E**-shaped or **H**-shaped building, developed from the older manor-house with its large hall flanked by solar and retiring rooms at one end, and by the kitchen quarters at the other. The closed courtyard was soon abandoned in favour of more light and an extensive view, and this **E**-shaped type of house, which some contemporary writers affirm to be associated with the devotion of Englishmen to their Virgin Queen, became a favourite form. The small central arm of the letter formed a porch or entrance to the hall and staircase, and the wings allowed of large and lofty rooms. In the building of their houses the earlier Tudors used a long, flat brick of a deep purple or plum colour, which is at times relieved by a pattern in blue bricks. St. James's Palace and Hampton Court are splendid examples, which illustrate also the bold and lofty chimney stacks with which they broke the sky-lines of their buildings. Towards the end of the century many half-timbered houses were built. They may still be



seen in many parts of the country ; Staple Inn in Holborn is a very good London specimen. Even where attempts were made to introduce classical forms, older Gothic features remained, and oriels, bay windows, and low gables showed that English ideas were persisting.

But in spite of the obvious beauty of the Gothic style for ordinary everyday purposes, the builders neglected English methods and began to copy Renaissance methods. The change did not come about without many mistakes being made. The newer Renaissance forms, with their dependence upon symmetry and proportion, required the master mind of an architect who should plan and overlook the whole and keep all its parts in due subordination. But this had never been the English way. The master mason and other workers had had, in the past, full scope in their respective tasks ; even in the building of the new palace at Hampton Court the same condition held, though Wolsey himself, and later, Henry VIII., overlooked the work and took a close personal interest in what was being done. Now in the seventeenth century the times were ripe for an architect who should plan the whole work carefully, and should then superintend and co-ordinate the workers in the construction of it. It was only in this way that the strange and irregular blends of Gothic and Renaissance forms could be avoided.

Hence we begin to hear of the architect as an all-important factor in English building, and almost immediately we are face to face with

one of our great Renaissance builders in the person of Inigo Jones, a member of the court of James I.

Inigo Jones. He was first associated with the court as a producer of the popular masques of Jonson and other writers, and was responsible for the scenery and machinery of many of the most important of them. After a visit to the Continent he became also well versed in the developments of architecture under the Italian Renaissance, and he succeeded admirably in adapting the Italian ideals to English needs. Most of his schemes were only partially carried out; but of his works, the Banqueting Hall at Whitehall, which was intended as a portion of a large Stuart palace to be built there, remains as one of the best examples of Renaissance architecture in England. It was this architect's great glory that he started a new classical building development which freed England from the failures of Elizabeth's reign with its German and Flemish influences, and brought our architecture into contact with Italian influences at their best, without sacrificing what was good in the older English work. His efforts were cut short by the Civil war, and it was from one of the windows of the Banqueting Hall that his master and patron, Charles I., stepped forth to execution. The Commonwealth period was not remarkable for its developments in architecture, but with the Restoration building commenced again, and the work of Inigo Jones passed into the hands of a very famous English architect, Sir Christopher Wren.

Wren was a scholar of Wadham College, Oxford,

and early became known as an exceptionally good mathematical and scientific scholar. By the time he was thirty he was Professor Sir Christopher of Astronomy at Oxford. His genius Wren. always showed a strongly practical bent. When he turned his attention to architecture he was able to utilise his mechanical and mathematical knowledge to very good advantage. Unlike his predecessor, Inigo Jones, Wren never visited Italy, and his knowledge of continental architecture was gained from books and illustrations, and from a six months' visit to Paris, in 1666, at a time when French Renaissance architecture was at a very high point. His opportunity came with the Great Fire of London, 1666, which demolished a large portion of the City, and cleared away the remnants of the plague of the preceding year.

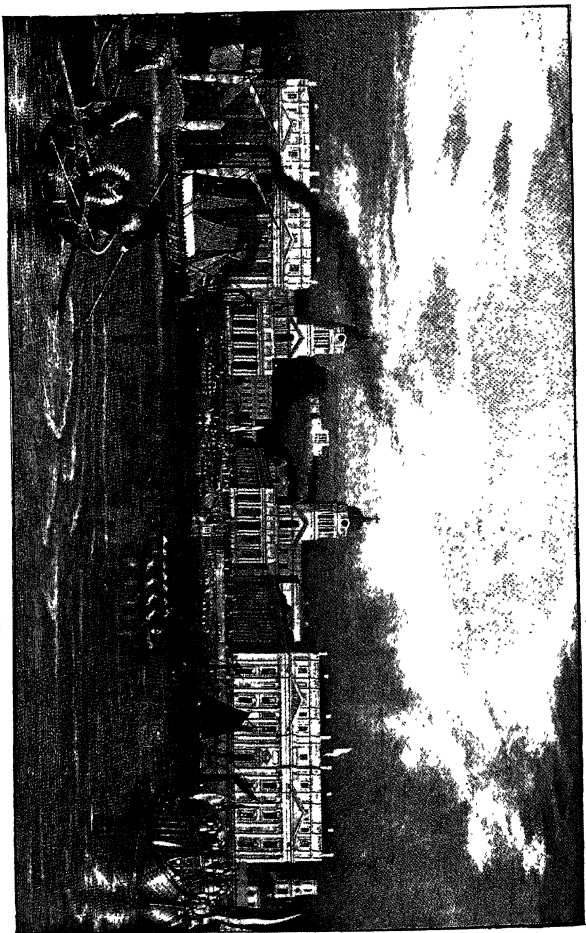
Had Wren been given a free hand we should have had a modern London of broad streets and open squares and spaces, with noble public buildings based upon classical models. The plan which he prepared is still in existence, and shows us what might have been. But lack of money and difficulties of ownership, and the immediate needs of the London merchants and shopkeepers, prevented any reconstruction of this kind. The people were anxious to see their dwelling-houses and places of business standing once more. The City was rebuilt upon the old lines, and our modern London city streets follow in the main the course of the early thoroughfares.

Where Wren was able to show his genius was

in the re-erection of the churches and other public buildings which the fire had destroyed. He had a share in the rebuilding of no fewer than fifty-four London churches, and his masterpiece is modern St. Paul's, whose magnificent dome so completely dominates the City. No man could possibly desire a grander monument than this, a fact which the Latin inscription upon his tomb in the crypt of St. Paul's emphasises. Its translation is as follows: "Beneath is buried Christopher Wren, architect of this church and city, who lived for more than ninety years, not for himself, but for the public good. Reader, if thou seekest his monument, look around." Wren's work is best seen in his towers and steeples, which are to be found in all parts of the city of London. He recognised that the body of his buildings, hidden away in the narrow streets and among the houses, would show but little, and so he paid considerable attention to that portion of them which rises above the general level of the surrounding buildings. Hence the beauty of the steeples and domes with which his churches are surmounted. He was fortunate, too, in finding clever artists in wood, stone, and iron to help him in the decoration of his work. The wood carving of Grinling Gibbons and his pupils is famous everywhere, and some of the finest examples of it are to be found in the choir of St. Paul's Cathedral. The carving in stone of Cibber and Bird, and the ironwork of Jean Tijou, are also notable illustrations of Renaissance ornament.

Wren also did much work for noblemen and others who were building large and stately homes

Other in various parts of the country at this  
work by time. One of his greatest efforts in  
Wren. this direction was the alteration and  
enlargement of Hampton Court Palace for William  
III. Even more successful was the completion  
of Greenwich Hospital, which already contained  
work done by Inigo Jones. Wren was also respon-  
sible for the building of Kensington Palace, and  
for many buildings associated with the colleges of  
Oxford and Cambridge. His example, following  
upon the work of Inigo Jones, turned the direc-  
tion of English domestic architecture towards  
Renaissance forms, and he was succeeded in the  
eighteenth century by a number of architects who  
continued his work in that direction, but were  
very inferior to him in the work they produced.



GREENWICH HOSPITAL, FROM THE THAMES.

An example of a building in the Renaissance style of architecture. Built by Inigo Jones and Sir Christopher Wren.



## CHAPTER XXXI.

### JOHN MILTON AND JOHN DRYDEN.

TWO writers, Milton and Dryden, stand out above all their fellows in the history of the literature of the second half of the seventeenth century. The one, Milton, belongs to the Elizabethan age, which comes to a close in him. It is a glorious close, for, after Shakespeare, he is its greatest representative; typical of it, too, in very many ways, combining in his single person something of almost all that has gone before, the allegory of the Middle Ages, the fullness of learning of the Renaissance, and the moral fervour of the Puritan Reformation. The other, John Dryden, twenty-one years younger, while fully alive to the merits of the past—for in no other writer of his time do we find more cordial recognition of the greatness of Milton, Shakespeare, and Chaucer—is just as essentially the representative of that new England which came into being at the Restoration. He is the servant of his time, ready to supply the current demand in literature, willing to serve the fashion of the moment; too much so, indeed, for to some extent he prostrated his genius to be in accordance with his age. Both reflect in large measure in their writings the feelings and aspirations of their



contemporaries, but with this difference, that while Dryden mixed always with the crowd and ever compared had his finger on the pulse of it, Milton's and soul was like a star and dwelt apart, contrasted. a pathetic Puritan figure in the midst of the new, careless, immoral London which had grown up around him. The attitude taken by each of these men at the death of Cromwell illustrates this well. The older man busied himself with a scheme to establish a free commonwealth in the State, and proclaimed his republicanism when all the nation was rejoicing in the possibility of a king once more ; the younger, who had paid poetic tribute to the memory of Cromwell after his death, became an active helper of the new order of things, and wrote verses in support of Charles II. and his party. The one made a last effort for the freedom of former days which was now in danger of becoming license and extravagance ; the other represented that very necessary restraint and obedience to rule and law and order which English literature and English politics required at this time.

Milton was eight years old when Shakespeare died. As he grew towards manhood he benefited by the kind attention of parents who Milton's boyhood and youth. were anxious to give him the best education the times afforded, and at St. Paul's School and Christ's College, Cambridge, he was known as an excellent classical scholar. Before leaving the university he had written a number of poems, which included two *Sonnets*, an *Epitaph on Shakespeare*, and a more ambitious

*Hymn on the Morning of Christ's Nativity.* His parents had intended him for the Church, but under the Puritan influences then strong at Cambridge, he felt this to be impossible, and, after leaving the university, he was permitted to settle down in retirement at Horton in Buckinghamshire, and to continue his studies with the object of becoming a poet. To Milton this object was not one which could easily be attained. He felt that "he who would not be frustrate of his hope to write well hereafter in laudable things, ought himself to be a true poem," and to attain to this ideal there was necessary "devout prayer to that eternal Spirit who can enrich with all utterance and knowledge, and sends out His seraphim, with the hallowed fire of His altar, to touch and purify the lips of whom He pleases"; and also "industrious and select reading, steady observation, and insight into all seemly and generous arts and affairs." Such was the spirit in which Milton entered upon

His early his chosen task. The first-fruits of his poems. labour came in the form of several poems, the last of them completed before he was thirty, and all of them masterpieces of English literature. They show how carefully he had been reading the classics, and how greatly his receptive mind had been influenced by the writers of the Italian Renaissance, by the work of Spenser and his followers, and by the study of Jonson and Shakespeare; and they give us glimpses of the wide range of reading he had already covered. Some are pastoral poems; *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso* tell us respectively and in balanced contrast of the

events of a day in the life of a man when he is joyous and contented, and when he is thoughtful and contemplative. *Lycidas* is a pastoral elegy in which Milton laments the death of a Cambridge acquaintance. It contains a passage denouncing those clergy who, in his opinion, are not doing their duty to their flocks—a passage which warns us that Milton is likely to be on the side of Puritan and parliament against Laud and the king. *Arcades* and *Comus* are two masques in which Milton brings to perfection this courtly dramatic form, and gives it a moral purpose in the lessons he makes it teach.

All this time, too, Milton was revolving in his mind the possibility of writing some great work, instead of these, to him, literary exercises—a work which would make him famous for ever. At this time he inclined to the classical dramatic form as the proper mode of expression, and was especially charmed with the idea of weaving his plot around the story of Arthur and his Knights, though he was not insensible to the merits of the great story of the loss of Paradise for such a purpose. But more years of preparation were necessary yet, and to complete his education he commenced a foreign tour, moving across France into Switzerland and Italy, making friends everywhere, and gaining introductions to many important continental scholars and writers. From this journey he was called back to action by the news of the breach between king and parliament, and, abandoning a much desired visit to Greece and Athens, he slowly retraced his steps and came to England.

When he reached home he began to take part in the wordy warfare of the time, and wrote treatises and pamphlets from the standpoint of the Puritans. These prose works are chiefly valuable to us, because in them Milton at times strikes a personal note and tells us of himself. There is one, however, which merits special notice, the *Areopagitica*, a passionate plea for a free press and for freedom of thought, made at a time when the parliamentary party to which he belonged was attempting to suppress both. During the twenty years 1640 to 1660 he put aside the great poem he had hoped to write and busied himself in his country's affairs. In 1649 his knowledge of Latin caused him to be appointed Secretary for Foreign Tongues to the Council of State, and it fell to him to defend the English people against the attacks of continental writers, who were denouncing them for the execution of their king. In 1652 these

His strenuous years told upon an already blindness. enfeebled eyesight, and he became totally blind. Yet he still laboured on, and wrote only a few sonnets instead of the great poetic work for which he had been preparing. Some of these sonnets are treasures of their kind.

On the death of Cromwell he opposed the return of Charles II., and for a time his life was in danger ;

His but his friends saved him and he was  
*Paradise* able to live in retirement. He now  
*Lost.* returned to his earlier desire and composed his great epic poem, *Paradise Lost*, which was published in 1667. In this he rose to the height

of his genius in the sublimity of his thought, the remarkable breadth of his knowledge, the magnificence of his expression, and the grandeur of his versification. The blank verse which Marlowe had first used and Shakespeare had carried to so great a perfection for dramatic purposes, now received its consummation in Milton's epic. No one can read many lines of his poem without feeling the power and variety of his poetic form. In the third book he speaks of his blindness in the following lines :

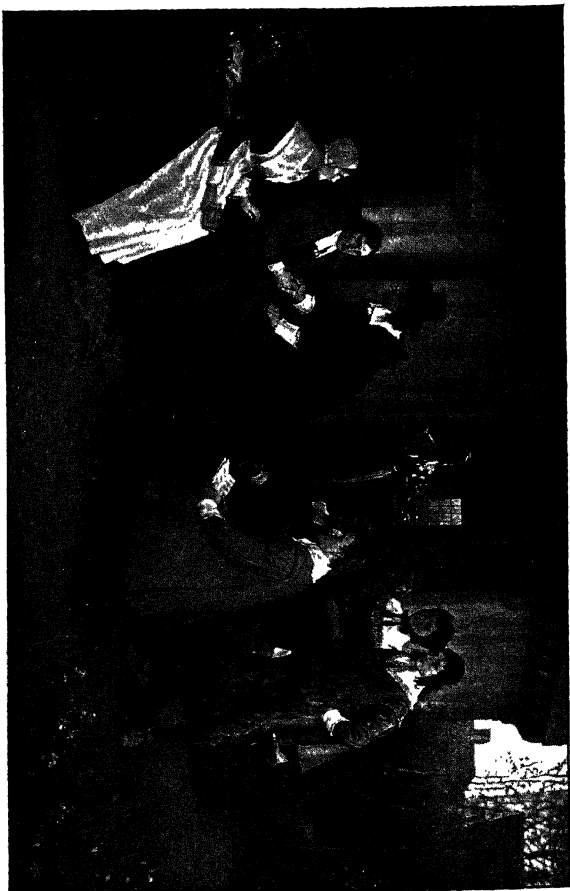
"Thus with the year  
Seasons return, but not to me returns  
Day, or the sweet approach of ev'n or morn,  
Or sight of vernal bloom, or summer's rose,  
Or flocks, or herds, or human face divine ;  
But cloud instead, and ever-during dark  
Surrounds me, from the cheerful ways of men  
Cut off, and for the book of knowledge fair  
Presented with a universal blank  
Of Nature's works to me expunged and rased,  
And wisdom at one entrance quite shut out.  
So much the rather thou Celestial light  
Shine inward, and the mind through all her powers  
Irradiate, there plant eyes, all mist from thence  
Purge and disperse, that I may see and tell  
Of things invisible to mortal sight."

The *Paradise Lost* was followed by an epic poem of *Paradise Regained*, and by *Samson Agonistes*, a drama after the Greek model, which shows us Samson blind and a captive, the sport of the Philistines yet triumphant over his enemies in a victorious death.

Except for Milton's work the Puritans produced but little poetry, for poetry was courtly and

MEETING OF MILTON AND ANDREW MARVELL.  
*(From the picture by G. H. Boughton, R.A.)*

[Fischelitz phot.]





marked the cavalier. The Puritan poet next to Milton in importance was Andrew Marvell, his friend and his assistant in the office of Secretary for Foreign Tongues. Marvell, like Milton, was no fanatic, but a lover of nature and of books, a scholar of no mean order, and a patriotic Englishman genuinely interested in the welfare of his country. In a well-nigh perfect *Horatian Ode on Cromwell's Return from Ireland*, he recognises Cromwell's ability and sees in him the one man who can bring peace to his distracted country, but he pays tribute also to the nobility of Charles I., as shown especially in the manner of his death. After the Restoration he sat in parliament as member for Hull, and showed his disgust at the immoral court of Whitehall, and the degradation of England in the affairs of Europe, by trenchant satires in which he is not afraid to point out the strength and success of Cromwell's foreign policy.

The cavaliers continued to follow the lyrical traditions of Jonson and Donne. Some, and notably Vaughan, Crashaw, and Herbert, applied their talent to the making of religious verse; others used it to write of love in many polished lyrics which follow the Elizabethan form, though they show less of strength and more of artifice than those of their predecessors. The finest of these writers is Herrick, who also wrote many religious poems. Others of importance are Carew and Waller, and Montrose, Suckling, and Lovelace, three brave soldiers who fought and suffered for their king. Two of Love-



lace's poems, *To Lucasta on Going to the Wars*, and *To Althea, from Prison*, are perfect lyrics which every one should read.

In prose the Puritan has more to show. Milton gave up a considerable portion of the best days of his life to it. The *Saints' Everlasting Rest* of Richard Baxter, one of the Nonconforming clergy of 1662, became a Nonconformist classic, and was found until recent times in many Puritan households. Even wider than this was the appeal of

John Bunyan, the son of a poor Bedfordshire tinker. His life and work stand out in vivid contrast with those of the writers of the Restoration court, and present a much truer reflection of the temper and outlook of the English people generally. It was in Bedford jail, where he was confined for unlicensed preaching, that Bunyan wrote the first part of his *Pilgrim's Progress from this World to that which is to Come*, an unequalled religious allegory, and the one great contribution of a man of the lower classes to what is really Elizabethan literature. For though the book was not published until 1678, its passionate feeling and unconscious art link it with the spirit of the earlier times. Its language shows how thoroughly Bunyan had studied his Bible, and the whole work is marked by clearness and simplicity, alike in its clever allegory, its naïve humour, its character painting, its realistic dialogue, and its vivid descriptions. It is no wonder that many generations of all sorts and conditions of English people have found enjoyment in the book. Bunyan also wrote a sketch of his own early life and con-

version, which he called *Grace Abounding unto Me, the Chief of Sinners*, and other allegories.

Other men wrote historical or philosophical treatises, and there were men too who in these troublous times stood somewhat aside in contemplation: Sir Thomas Browne, a physician, who wrote of *Urn Burial* and of other matters curious and antiquarian, and also analysed his own religious beliefs in a work called *Religio Medici*; and Izaak Walton, a London linen draper, who wrote the *Compleat Angler*, full of a simple love of country scenes and country things. Of the many other prose writers it is impossible here to speak.

Most of the work of which we have so far spoken, with the notable exception of Bunyan's, belongs to

Dryden the times of Charles I. and the Common-  
as wealth. After the Restoration a  
playwright. great change took place in English literature, and the leading features of the change are well exemplified in the work of Dryden. When the theatres were reopened, Dryden speedily took the first place as a playwright. He placed his talent at the service of the Court, which now controlled the stage to such an extent that the theatre represented the feelings and desires of the courtiers alone, and not the wishes of the middle and lower classes as so many Elizabethan plays had done. Even before the death of Cromwell, William Davenant, who carried on to some extent the Elizabethan tradition, had gained permission to give musical performances, and had produced, in 1658, an operatic play, *The Siege of*

*Rhodes.* After 1660 there was much use of scenery and music, and actresses now played the women's parts—a fashion that had commenced in the reign of Charles I. Elizabethan dramas were put aside for the heroic drama—plays which told in rhyming couplets of the loves and wars of kings and princes, and preached the importance of monarchs and the necessity of passive obedience on the part of their subjects. The whole theatrical atmosphere became unreal and “stagy”; there no longer existed the reality and truth to nature of the Shakespearean play, all was affectation and obvious fiction. This form held the stage for several years, though it was at last displaced, under Dryden's genius, by imitations or adaptations of Shakespeare's plays—improvements of them Dryden and his contemporaries would have called them. Political plays also were written with the object of spreading doctrines in accordance with the views of the Court. Playwrights now began to take sides and to quarrel over the merits of their respective political parties. Thomas Shadwell was Dryden's great Whig opponent. Two authors, Nathaniel Lee and Thomas Otway, did something to bring back tragedy of the Elizabethan kind, with its pathos and its choice of characters from all ranks of society.

The climax of the Restoration drama was reached in a series of artificial and witty, though often Restoration coarse and immoral, comedies, which comedies. reflect the thoughts and manners, not of the English people generally, but of that section of it which was associated with the Court or aped its ways. Dryden, of course, wrote comedy, but

his was of the kind which Fletcher had made so popular, and Shadwell continued to present humours in the vein of Ben Jonson. It was Etheredge, Wycherley, Congreve, Vanbrugh, and Farquhar, men who belong to the closing years of the century, who gave a new turn to the comedy of manners by their witty and polished presentations of contemporary society.

Alongside this dramatic work there went also a continuous stream of poetry, and here, as elsewhere, Dryden reigned supreme. He wrote some stanzas on the death of Cromwell, and others in praise of the Restoration and of Charles II. He produced a long narrative poem, the *Annus Mirabilis*, which tells of the Great Fire and Plague, and he plunged vigorously into the popular satiric Restoration verse of the time. Satire had been  
 satire. developing slowly in our literature, and there had been several exponents of this form before 1660. After this date Marvell satirised the Court and its failures, John Oldham attacked the Jesuits at the time of the Titus Oates plot, and Samuel Butler poured a flood of ridicule upon the Puritans in his *Hudibras*—a long poem in mock heroic style, which depicts with pitiless ridicule the fortunes, or rather misfortunes, of Sir Hudibras, a Presbyterian Don Quixote, and his independent squire, Ralpho. Dryden and his political friends and opponents used satire as a weapon of political warfare ; and Dryden's word-portraits of his  
 Other works of Dryden. opponents in his *Absalom and Ahitophel* and his *Mac Flecknoe* are masterpieces of satiric power. Religious problems were closely

associated with the political troubles of the time, and Dryden attempted also to justify the attitude taken up by the Court by means of theological arguments in verse. His *Religio Laici*, 1682, defended the position of the English church; in 1687, after the accession of James II., he wrote a long allegory, entitled *The Hind and the Panther*, which argues on behalf of the Roman church. With the Revolution of 1689 and the triumph of the Whigs, Dryden lost his position as Poet Laureate, and was compelled to go back to the drama for a living. Some translations from the classics which he made for Tonson, a publisher, for insertion in *Tonson's Miscellany*, caused him to turn his attention to this class of work, and the closing years of his life were spent in translations of Virgil, Ovid, Juvenal, and Homer, and in modernised adaptations of Chaucer.

Much of this work was written in the heroic couplet he had used in his first dramatic works.

The heroic couplet. In the later days of Elizabethan poetry there had been a reaction against the irregularity and license of the many lyrical forms of verse employed, and a desire for a more regular and orderly form of versification. After 1660 this desire was increased by the great change in subject-matter which brought into prominence the social and political sides of life, and gave rise to the satirical and philosophical poetry of which we have spoken. Hence there developed the heroic couplet, an orderly and restrained form of verse well suited for the new matter of poetry. Com-

mencing with the work of Denham and Waller, this form was brought to perfection by Dryden, and we may give here as a good example of it the opening lines of *The Hind and the Panther*. They may profitably be compared with the example of Milton's blank verse we have quoted from *Paradise Lost*.

"A milk-white Hind, immortal and unchanged,  
Fed on the lawns and in the forest ranged ;  
Without unspotted, innocent within,  
She feared no danger, for she knew no sin.  
Yet had she oft been chased with horns and hounds  
And Scythian shafts ; and many winged wounds  
Aimed at her heart ; was often forced to fly,  
And doomed to death, though fated not to die."

But though most of the verse of the Restoration poets was in this form, lyrical poetry was by no means extinct. Dryden wrote odes, and introduced many fine songs into his dramas ; and alongside the poets of which we have been speaking there moved another set of poets, closely associated with the Court and constituting a small society of their own. Witty and clever Court poets of the Restoration. these men undoubtedly were, but their wit was depraved and their cleverness shallow. Talent they undoubtedly possessed, but their talent was employed for ignoble purposes, and their lyrics seem insignificant when compared with those of the courtiers of Charles I. They included the Duke of Buckingham, the Earls of Rochester and Dorset, and Sir Charles Sedley. In a different age they might possibly have become noble patrons of English men of letters.

Prose writing also changed considerably during this period, and here again Dryden was a pioneer Restoration and master craftsman. The new prose prose. is distinctly modern in form, simple instead of involved, suitable as a medium of expression for all practical purposes. Many forms of prose work appear: Cowley wrote personal essays; Temple wrote elegant essays in the manner of a genteel amateur scholar; Halifax used the essay for political purposes; Dryden produced critical essays and prose prefaces to his dramatic works. Clarendon in his *History of the Great Rebellion*, and Sprat in his *History of the Royal Society*, show a tremendous advance upon the chronicle histories of Hall and Holinshed; Locke used the new prose for his philosophy. There is quite a rage for memoirs and diaries, and we get such historical treasures as the works of Pepys, Evelyn, and Roger North. The novel and the newspaper are also in evidence. England was now possessed of a prose which enabled her writers to express themselves on every kind of subject—a prose which was to become perfected in the hands of Swift and Steel and Addison.

## BOOK III.

### CHAPTER XXXII.

#### THE GROWTH OF COLONIES AND DEPENDENCIES.

“TRADE FOLLOWS THE FLAG.”

ENGLAND was late in entering into the field of colonial expansion and her possessions made but

Colonial slow progress during the seventeenth expansion. century. The two most important eras of growth of the British Empire are those of the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries. In the seventeenth century the people who left England to settle in other lands generally did so in order to find beyond the sea a place in which they would

Reasons be free to follow their own religious for beliefs and practices, for at that time emigration. the idea of religious toleration can scarcely be said to have existed in any European country. But in the eighteenth, and especially in the nineteenth century colonisation was resorted to as a means of relieving the pressure of over-population at home, and many people left our



shores in search of a new home and a means of livelihood which they found it difficult to obtain in England. It is these persons who have been the builders of the British Empire. They have played a more important part in its development than our soldiers have done. Our Empire has been built up by colonisation rather than by conquest.

During the eighteenth century three parts of the world especially attracted Europeans as colonial and trading centres, the mainland of North America, the West Indies, and India. In one of these, however, colonisation in the true sense was impossible, for in India the native population forms the vast majority of the people, and the part of the European has been that of governor and director. In all these places England found other Europeans already in the field. Spain, France, and Holland were formidable competitors, and competition with these countries led to considerable friction. During the same period also England

England and European politics in the eighteenth century. became closely associated with these countries in European politics, at first by the accession of William III., whose Dutch interests led him to wage war with France, and then through the accession of George I., who was not only King of England, but also a German ruler of Hanover and therefore much concerned in what was happening upon the Continent. It became the duty of England to guard the balance of power in Europe, to check the overweening ambition of any Power which aimed at world-dominion, to

protect the interests of the weaker nations, to strive for the recognition of international promises and engagements and for the sanctity of treaties, and, above all, to seek for European peace. In pursuit of these objects she became the antagonist of France, and France was also her competitor in America and in India. Hence the struggle for European control was often fought out in these latter countries instead of upon European battle-fields.

In all dealings with their colonies the European nations looked upon monopoly of trade as a first essential, and were strongly opposed to any trade on the part of the colonies with continental rivals or their colonies. Colonial rivalries of European nations. The colonists were not always ready to recognise this, and there was much smuggling and illicit trading between colonists of different nationalities and between the European nations to which they belonged. Hence there existed a state of almost continual warfare, both in the colonies, and also in those places, such as India and West Africa, where Europeans were present simply as traders, and where their possessions were chiefly trading stations established to help and encourage trading operations. When French or Spanish traders and the officials of French and Spanish colonies were opposed to English traders and officials, the situation began to assume an international aspect. It was impossible for the Government at home to view their quarrels with unconcern, and England was at war in many parts of the world for more than half of

the years included in the period 1688 to 1815. As this period progressed, too, England and France became the great rivals in the colonial field. Spain, it is true, was also a great colonial Power, but her position was mainly that of ally and fellow-sufferer with France. Holland had already been weakened by Cromwell, and even her association with England during the reign of William III. proved of little lasting benefit to her. From this century of colonial struggle England finally emerged victorious, though with the loss of a considerable portion of her first colonial empire. The decisive factor in all cases was the command of the seas ; and here England benefited considerably by her insular position, just as France suffered also from her continental embroilments.

It will be well for us to consider separately the developments of the Empire during the eighteenth century in each of the three areas we have mentioned. The English stations or factories in India were not under the direct control of the home Government, but belonged to the East India Company, of which we have already spoken. This Company maintained in India its own staff of officials and soldiers. Its growth was greatly hampered by the presence of rival French, Dutch, and Portuguese traders, of whom the French were the most important. The death of Aurungzebe, the last Great Mogul, in 1707, was followed by the breakdown of the great Indian Mohammedan empire, and the European companies in India seized the opportunity to increase their authority.

English  
colonial  
develop-  
ments.  
1700-1815.

In India.



IN THE SERVICE OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY.  
The Fort at Madras.



The French were well served by an able and energetic administrator, Dupleix. He discovered that much might be done by small bodies of native troops (sepoys) if they were trained by European officers, and he built up an army of this type which enabled him to make himself master of southern India. The English in Madras were in despair until their failing fortunes were restored by the

Clive. courage and skill of a young clerk named

Robert Clive, who seized Arcot, fortified and defended it successfully against the French, and taught the native rulers that Englishmen were greater military leaders than the French were. Dupleix was recalled to France in 1754 and English control of the Carnatic was assured.

After the victory of Clive at Plassey (1757) the Company was also supreme in Bengal, and subsequent victories destroyed French opposition and left the Company without any formidable European rival in India. Difficulties followed through the misrule and corruption of Company officers, the necessity of finding good dividends for Company directors and shareholders, trouble at home through political opponents, and the intrigues of the French in Mysore. It became necessary for the home Government to interfere. The Government reorganised the Company and created the office of Governor-General of India. Warren Hastings was

Warren the first governor-general, and the  
Hastings. greatest man who has ever held this important post. He succeeded in maintaining the position of the English in India in spite of great difficulties which included the combined attacks of

a number of native princes. After his return in 1784 Pitt's *India Bill* gave the Crown supreme power over the Company with the right of nomination of the Governor-General and the Board of Control at home. Succeeding governors were able to add to the territories already possessed by the Company, and English influence was also made predominant in a large number of the remaining native States. Napoleon had visions of attacking England in India and of founding a great Eastern empire, but his schemes came to nought with the destruction of his fleet by Nelson at the Battle of the Nile, and by the gallant defence of Acre by Sir Sidney Smith. Finally in 1813 the Company's monopoly of trade was taken from them and English trade with India increased very considerably.

At the beginning of the eighteenth century our West Indian possessions included Barbadoes, a flourishing island whose planters exported sugar, cotton, tobacco, and indigo, Nevis, Montserrat, St. Christopher, and Jamaica, which had been taken from Spain during the Commonwealth period. These possessions were very prosperous and did a great trade with the mother country. France, too, held a number of these islands, and her trade with them was considerable. During the trade wars of the eighteenth century many of these French islands passed into the hands of the English, owing to England's command of the seas. Thus by 1815 England had acquired considerable holdings in the West Indies, as well as British Guiana and British

Honduras, two important settlements on the mainland of Central America. The West Indian trade increased continuously, and the islands formed the most important and prosperous portion of our eighteenth-century Empire.

At the beginning of that century the English settlers in North America held the territory between the Alleghany mountains and the Atlantic Ocean from Nova Scotia to Florida, which was then a Spanish possession. The French occupied

On the  
mainland  
of North  
America.

Canada, then consisting of the area around the St. Lawrence and the Great Lakes, to the north of the New England States, and also Louisiana, a province at the mouth of the Mississippi, to the south of Carolina. Their explorers were also venturing upon the Mississippi, and by virtue of their occupation of these territories they were claiming the rearlands of our American colonies. Had this claim been acknowledged, the English colonists would have been shut in between the mountains and the sea, and expansion westwards would have been impossible. The struggle of the colonists to prevent this was one of the causes of the Seven Years' War (1756-1763), a war which spread over the greater portion of Europe, and left England victorious, and, as compared with her competitors, relatively more powerful than she has ever been since. In America it gave us Canada (the fruit of Wolfe's famous victory before Quebec), Florida, and the rearlands of the eastern provinces as far as the Mississippi.

But these constant wars of the eighteenth



century cost England dearly in both money and men, while the colonists gained considerably from the protection of the mother country. She naturally expected therefore in return that they would help her trading interests and support her in her pursuit of power. The Navigation Acts, which were framed to protect English trading interests, were therefore intended to apply as closely to the colonists as to England. English merchants, of course, gained considerably. The Acts ensured the passage of many articles through England which would otherwise have gone directly to some foreign country. This meant, in turn, cheaper outward freights for many English goods, with the profits of a carrying trade on the homeward journey, even when the goods carried were not intended for home consumption. Statesmen as well as merchants were inclined to look upon the colonies as areas to be exploited for England's benefit ; and various colonial goods were *enumerated* as goods which must of necessity pass through English markets. Among these enumerated products were cotton, tobacco, rice, sugar, and naval stores generally.

There were, of course, many colonial products which were not *enumerated*. These the colonists could export freely under the very real protection of the British flag. Nor did the benefit of the English connection end here. The mother country gave favourable terms to her colonists in the shape of lighter duties or even bounties ; occasionally they might receive a monopoly, as in the case of

tobacco. What English merchants were not desirous of seeing was a development of colonial manufactures, not even of those manufactures which supplied the colonists with their own necessities—these were to be a monopoly of the mother country; the duty of the colonists was to supply England with raw material for industry and with food products not producible at home. This reacted to the great and immediate advantage of our rapidly developing industries. In 1760 one-third of England's exports were going to her colonies; America and the West Indies were her best customers. Whatever hardships the colonies may have suffered under this system, they were much better off than their neighbours. France and Spain not only exploited their colonies, but interfered also with the liberty of the colonists by vexatious regulations. In matters of politics the English colonists were free, and they always retained their rights as Englishmen.

Fifty years of warfare had, however, given England an increased national debt, and it was felt that a small portion of the cost of maintenance of the fleet might be borne by those who had derived great advantages from its work. An unfortunate attempt was made to tax the American colonists, though they had no representation in the English parliament, and were jealous of their freedom in a truly English way. Moreover, the total defeat of the French in Canada had removed any fear of French conquest and had left the colonies prosperous and independent; and, in

Attempt  
to tax the  
American  
colonists;

their opinion, capable of working out their own political destiny. Ill-judged attempts at interference on the part of second-rate English statesmen caused a revolt of the American colonies in 1775; mismanagement at home and the interference of France and Spain on their behalf led to their separation from the mother country in 1783. The Peace of Versailles, which marks the close of this American War of Independence, left England the loser of this portion of her first colonial empire. The colonies which then left her have since developed into the powerful United States of America.

At the end of the war England's prestige had sunk to a lower point than it had ever known since the days of Henry VI. Her Empire was partially destroyed; her finances were in a disastrous condition; her home administration was completely disorganised. But she still retained her power in India; Canada and the West Indies remained to her; her navy still gave her the command of the seas; and the secession of the American colonies did very little to injure her trade with them. Moreover the loss of the colonies struck a blow at the policy which seemed to have caused it, and this paved the way for a different treatment of the remaining colonies. Even during the darkest days of the struggle English seamen and explorers were laying the foundations of a second and mightier Empire in the Pacific Ocean. In 1699 Dampier explored the north-west coast of Australia; in 1740 Anson made a voyage round



THE BEGINNINGS OF A NEW BRITISH POSSESSION.  
Captain Cook landing at Adventure Bay, Van Diemen's Land.



the world in the manner of Drake ; between 1768 and 1779 Captain Cook made three famous voyages to the Pacific, and these resulted in the annexation of New Zealand, New South Wales, and many important Pacific islands. In Africa, Sierra Leone was established in 1787 as an asylum for freed slaves ; in 1795 and 1805 Mungo Park made his famous journeys on the Niger.

The French Revolution and the ambition of Napoleon led England into a war which lasted, with but one short break, from 1793 to 1815. At its conclusion England was the only European Power with many colonies, for the Spanish and Portuguese colonies of America were in revolt and were on the eve of separation, and France and Holland had lost many of their possessions. With the peace the close connection between European and colonial affairs came to an end for a time. The colonies were able to develop without trouble from without ; distress at home led to a steady stream of emigration to their shores ; the great extensions of industry in England gave rise to a big demand for the food and raw material which the colonies were well fitted to supply. At first, however, with memories of the Declaration of Independence still vivid, English statesmen showed little zeal for colonial development. There was a danger that the earlier unwise interference would be replaced by still more unwise neglect. Luckily, in 1830, a revived interest in the colonies resulted from the writings of Edward Wakefield, who pointed out the

necessity of getting desirable settlers aided by a sufficient capital, in order to make the colonies not merely the homes of our surplus English population but also valuable additions to the British Empire. A new bond of union was established based upon kinship and nationality, history and literature, and destined to prove more binding than self-interested trading associations could ever be. This association was materially assisted by the great inventions and developments of steamships and telegraphy, which brought the colonies nearer to England than they had ever been before.

Hence the nineteenth century witnessed fresh and important extensions in our colonies and in India; dependencies. In India successive governors increased the area directly under English control, or made important treaties with native princes who became England's vassals and supporters. Between 1815 and 1850 the territories of the Mahrattas, Scinde, and the Punjab were annexed; and England had also interfered in Burmah and Afghanistan. Then in 1857 came the terrible mutiny of the 'sepoys, which was suppressed after much cruelty on the part of the sepoys and severity on the part of their victors. In the following year the East India Company was abolished, and the whole administration transferred to the Crown; in 1877 Queen Victoria was proclaimed Empress of India at Delhi. Under British rule India has prospered exceedingly. Railways and canals, irrigation and the recovery of waste lands, and the benefits of a settled peace have

resulted in great progress being made ; her trade has developed enormously, and has been greatly assisted by the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869.

In Canada the presence of French as well as English settlers led to jealousies which culminated in Canada ; in 1837 in rebellion against the British rule. Lord Durham and other commissioners were sent out to investigate ; and Durham's report, a remarkable document on the proper methods of colonial government, advocated the combination of French and English settlers under one government with full rights of self-government and control of taxation. Since then Canada has become an important empire in North America, and now stretches in unbroken prosperity from the Atlantic to the Pacific. In 1867 the British North America Act united Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick as the Dominion of Canada, and all the other States of the mainland are now members of this powerful confederation. The western portions owe much of their recent speedy growth to the Canadian Pacific Railway, which links Quebec with Vancouver City on the Pacific and was opened in 1885.

The beginnings of our great Australian empire are to be found in an Act of Parliament, 1783, which in replaced the older convict punishment Australia ; of indentured labour on a tropical plantation by transportation to Botany Bay, New South Wales. Australia's first developments were associated with sheep-rearing and the export of wool, hides, and tallow ; but a great impetus to expansion was given by the discovery of gold in



1851, the population increasing nearly sixfold in the next ten years. Since then progress has been continuous and has spread over the whole of the continent, while the needs of defence in the face of the developments of other Powers in the Pacific have resulted in a federation of all the States, 1901, as the Commonwealth of Australia. New Zealand was separated from New South Wales in 1841, and has made great advances since. It now occupies a post of great importance in the South Pacific.

The tale of progress runs like a thread through the later history of almost all our possessions. The <sup>in the</sup> abolition of slavery led to difficulties in West Indies; sugar production in the very prosperous West India islands, and this depression has been accentuated by the developments of sugar-beet production on the continent of Europe. The planters have been compelled to turn their attention to other sources of income, notably to the growth of fruit, and with the opening of the Panama Canal we may expect these islands to enter upon a new period of prosperity.

In Africa, too, our possessions have increased considerably. In Cape Colony the question of the <sup>in Africa.</sup> control and general treatment of the native races has caused much trouble, and the problem has been rendered still more difficult by the presence of a Dutch population. Many of these Dutch Boers left the colony in 1836 and founded States (Transvaal and Orange Free State) to the north of the colony. Dealings with these Boer States were marked by much vacillation; at times they were declared to be under British

suzerainty, at times their independence was guaranteed. After the discovery of gold in the Transvaal, 1885, the presence of a large British population in that State added to the difficulties of the situation, and finally in 1899 Britain and the two Boer States engaged in an unhappy war, which resulted in the annexation of the States and the formation of a great South African Commonwealth to which responsible government was granted in 1906. There have also been extensions of the Empire in other parts of Africa.

The British flag now floats over 13 million square miles of territory, and the Empire contains

The  
British  
Empire :  
extent and  
population.

a total population of 434½ million people, of whom no fewer than 315 millions are in India alone. Self-government has been granted, so far as is possible, throughout the Empire, and there is also commercial independence ; so much so, indeed, that our colonists are quite at liberty to raise up tariff barriers against the introduction of British goods which may seem to be competing unduly with their own growing industries. The feeling that the colonies would be lost to the mother country as soon as they were able to defend themselves has now disappeared. The possibility of

The  
colonies  
and the  
mother  
country.

rapid communication by sea and by land is drawing them more closely to the mother country, as quicker and more direct intercourse increases year by year. All this tends to strengthen the consciousness of our common origin and common interests, and to emphasise the bond

between this country and her colonies. Opportunities, too, have not been wanting for proofs of this close association. On the outbreak of the South African War a wave of enthusiastic loyalty spread through our self-governing colonies, and the mother country was greatly helped in her struggle by the presence of colonial troops in the field, as well as by material and moral help of many kinds. Now that England has once more entered the field of European strife, in pursuit of her policy of enforcing the sanctity of treaties and the rights of the smaller nationalities, the colonists have once more responded nobly to the call. Two points out of a large number are noticeable here : one, the fact that the Pacific colonies have been able by their own forces to add to the Empire colonial possessions in the Pacific, and that Australia can now count among her laurels a successful naval engagement in the sinking of the *Emden* ; the other, the fact that India has shown a noble loyalty and a desire to remain a part of the Empire, which she is supporting by the presence of some of her splendid soldiers upon European battlefields.

Thus the future is distinctly hopeful as shadowing forth a mighty British Empire stretching over the Imperial world, bound together by ties of trade federation. and commerce, inseparably united by the feeling of a common past and by belief in a common destiny. That there are difficulties in the formation of such a federation it would be idle to deny. The place of England in such a union is difficult to decide ; the vast extent of the Empire makes the interests of the various colonies widely

different ones ; the mother country's close association with European affairs is an association from which the colonies are to a great extent free ; India presents certain difficulties from the point of view of equal government with the rest. There are also conflicting trade interests which it should be possible to reconcile. But as the years pass by these difficulties are diminishing in importance, and common interests and common dangers are tending to accentuate the bond of union. If, in the near future, the federation of the British Empire can be successfully accomplished, the destinies of the world would seem to be in the keeping of the British race.

## CHAPTER XXXIII.

### SOCIETY IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

#### THE MAN ABOUT TOWN AND THE COUNTRY SQUIRE.

THE general conditions of life in town and country during the first half of the eighteenth century were in many ways superior to those of the preceding century and a half. The improvements which had begun in the reign of Elizabeth had been steadily maintained, and the standard of comfort had continued to rise. Substantial dwelling-houses of brick and stone now replaced in many localities the older half-timbered buildings of later Tudor times ; glass was in common use ; furniture and carpets of a more luxurious type added to the comforts of the people. Their mode of life was one of greater privacy than had been that of their ancestors. The strongly-built dwelling-houses and country mansions of the eighteenth century, with their magnificent staircases, their well-appointed and highly-decorated suites of rooms, their crowds of footmen and other servants in gorgeous liveries and powdered hair, reflect in striking fashion the self-satisfaction of the age, its luxury and its stability. Whatever there was of architecture in this sterile time was devoted mainly to these

purposes : the Renaissance and Classical forms were employed to lend dignity to the dwelling-house ; the building of churches and cathedrals was no longer an object of desire.

This was the period in our history when the town reigned supreme. Fashion's laws were eagerly obeyed by fashion's devotees ; dress, manners, conversation, and all the everyday events of life were governed by the strictest code of regulations ; good form and good breeding were valued very highly. Amid all the evident defects of the age there shone the art of polite conversation raised to a pitch which England has never known at any other time. People could talk then, and it was well that a Boswell should have existed to preserve for us some of this remarkable conversation, and a Chesterfield and a Fanny Burney should have had the leisure to write memoirs which throw light upon the fashions and frailties of a remarkable time.

It was in the town rather than in the country that the greatest changes were apparent. Bad roads and slow travelling still made country journeys somewhat difficult, and the country lagged behind. Journeys were made by carriage or by saddle-horses or pillion, or in the towns by sedan-chairs. The provincial towns retained their importance as centres of country society. The country nobility and gentry visited the county town at the assizes, the races, and in the country season, and lived for the time being at the town house they still retained for such a purpose.

The Court remained to a great extent a private and narrow circle to which only the select few were admitted ; at times indeed it was a somewhat foreign growth which by no means represented the spirit and aspirations of the English people ; the English aristocracy were never more self-centred, proud, and exclusive than when the Whig nobility ruled England and looked down upon their Hanoverian kings.

Yet in the main coarseness and brutality are the marks of the century. The first Georges were boorish and immoral ; their Prime Minister, Walpole, had tastes like those of his groom and gamekeeper, coupled with a cynical disregard of all the virtues. His private life was grossly immoral. It was his boast as governor of England that " every man had his price," and that he was able to find it. Even when George III. and his queen set a better example few followed it, and extravagance in dress and in amusements remained a mark of the age until the sobering influence of the great French war was felt.

For this artificial age, which prided itself upon being the age of common-sense, was the age of the prize-fight and the duel, of the drunkard's defects ; and the gambler, of the rake and the bully. Irregular marriages were frequent. Adventurers seized the opportunity which marriage without licence in the Fleet and King's Bench Prisons gave. The ill-lighted and badly-guarded streets of London were the scenes of frequent outrage until a Lighting Act of 1736 made matters

somewhat better. The first half of the century was the golden age of the highwayman, the <sup>the</sup> period when Jack Sheppard, Jonathan highwaymen; Wild and Dick Turpin flourished. In 1712 a club of young gentlemen, the Mohocks, <sup>the</sup> terrorised Londoners by wanton out-Mohocks. rages which included the slitting of the noses of unfortunate citizens, the subjection of women to insults and indignities, and the beating of the feeble watchmen who were supposed to keep order in the streets.

Life in the town centred in the coffee-houses and in the public gardens. It was in the reign of Anne that the coffee-house reached the height <sup>The</sup> of its popularity, and became the lounge <sup>London</sup> of the idler and foppish man about <sup>coffee-</sup> town; the best place for gossip and <sup>houses</sup> news; the recognised centre for gambling; the meeting-place of men of business. Each house gathered its special type of company and was noted in its own peculiar way; all served the purpose of a modern club in the facilities they afforded for persons of similar tastes and habits to meet together for conversation and intercourse. Dryden had been head of the wits at Wills'; Addison was the presiding genius of Button's; Johnson was president of the Turk's Head in Gerrard Street. Your Tory went to the Cocoa Tree; your Whig to St. James's; all grades could gamble for high stakes at White's, or after 1765 at Almack's. Stockbrokers collected at Jonathan's and merchants at Garraway's; mercantile business was transacted by brokers at Lloyd's, and the



continuance of this work under the name of Lloyd's keeps that coffee-house famous to this day. At the beginning of the eighteenth century there were three thousand such coffee-houses in existence in London, and nothing now exists more select than the then famous Kit Cat Club, the rendezvous of the noblest of the Whigs.

About the middle of the century the public gardens, and especially Vauxhall and Ranelagh,

and attracted society. It was proper to  
public visit them in the evening in fashionable  
gardens. attire, to wander through their illumin-

ated groves, to partake of supper, and to see their grand displays of fireworks. The picturesque nature of these gatherings was aided by the dress of the ladies and their gallants; we may still see its beauties on the stage in the comedies of Goldsmith and Sheridan; it exists also in the court dress of to-day, and in the liveries of footmen and the uniform of soldiers. The young gallant or beau strutted about in his full-skirted white

Dress of the upper classes: or coloured satin coat, his flowered silk waistcoat reaching to the knee and his coloured silk knee-breeches. He probably affected red silk stockings and red-

heeled shoes with gold or silver buckles. His open waistcoat displayed to advantage his fine holland shirt with its beautiful lace ruffles and neckcloth. Every detail of his attire was carefully considered: his fully-powdered periwig, his sword suspended by a gaily-coloured sword-knot, his amber-headed cane, his spotless silk or cambric handkerchief, his watch with its suspended seal and ribbon carried



A POPULAR EIGHTEENTH CENTURY RESORT—VAUXHALL GARDENS, ABOUT 1750.  
(*from a Contemporary Print.*)



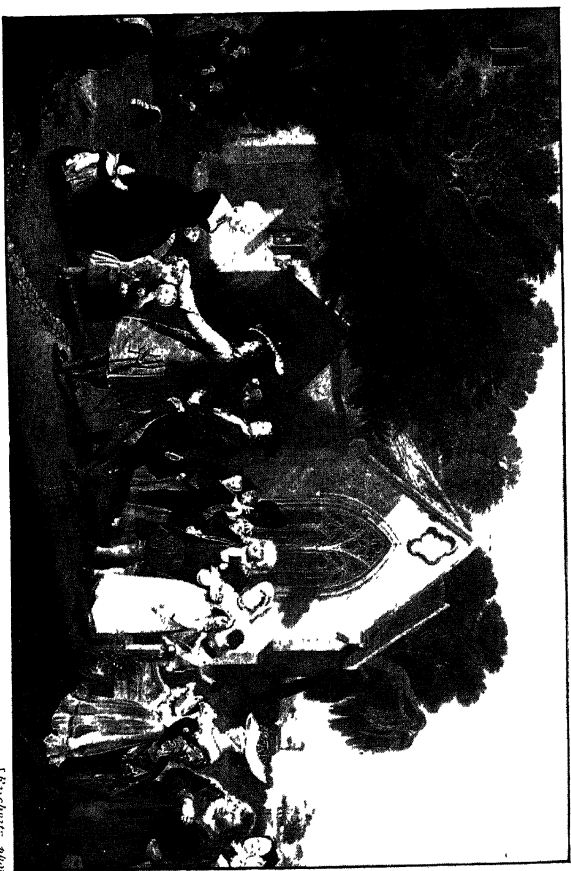
in the fob or pocket of his breeches ; his black hat with its broad brim carefully looped up and with its gold or silver hat-band, his gold, ivory, or tortoise-shell snuff-box held daintily in his hand. With him would be one or more ladies beautifully dressed in dainty flowered silk bodices (cut very low at first but with a dainty tucker later on), cream-coloured skirts, and straw hats trimmed with flowers. Beautiful lace was an all-important part of their apparel, and wonderful flowering embroidery in silks of various colours. But the fashions changed rapidly. With the eighteenth century came the hoop, and by the middle of the century the hoops had become enormous in size ; twenty years later, ladies were dressing their hair in monstrous structures of two or three feet high, by means of heavy pads of horse-hair. Patches on the face were in great repute, and the fan was used to good advantage. Furs, jewellery, and lace of the best quality were freely worn ; and everything was highly perfumed. The end of the century saw the short-waisted and tight gowns of Jane Austen's novels.

As the century progressed, the beau became the dandy, buck, or blood, and finally the macaroni or the beaux ; swell who followed the fashion set by the Whig leader, Fox, and the Prince of Wales, with its wide-skirted, big-cuffed coats and long-skirted waistcoats. The beaux especially reigned supreme at the watering-places such as Bath, Tunbridge, Epsom, and Cheltenham, for it was now becoming fashionable to visit one or other of these places yearly to take the waters.

Here and in London there were frequent masked balls and assemblies, and card-parties for high stakes in which the ladies played as eagerly as the men. Cards were in great repute, and ombre, piquet, basset, and cribbage were favourite games.

The manners and tastes of the country gentry left much to be desired. Many of them were coarse and illiterate, and the little intercourse they had with their better educated country gentry. associates upon the Bench at Quarter

Sessions, or in their visits to London or the inland watering-places, did not do much to improve them. The typical English country gentleman of the time lives for ever for us in the person of Addison's Sir Roger de Coverley. Generous to a fault, loyal and patriotic often without much show of reason, with leanings towards Jacobitism and High Church principles, he was probably less ignorant than Macaulay's fox-hunting squire appears to have been. Most of the nobility were members of this class and enjoyed the country as much as the town; Walpole is said always to have opened the letters of his bailiff and gamekeeper before he attended to those of the State. The lesser gentry who stayed at home and were free from cares of State, governed the countryside in matters civil and religious; administered justice with their neighbours at Quarter Sessions; drilled their tenants and servants when the militia was called up. In this way many of them became shrewd and observant even where they were by no means educated or literary. But at his worst the country squire of the time was an ignorant boor,



A TYPICAL COUNTRY SCENE OF THE EARLY EIGHTEENTH CENTURY—  
SIR ROGER DE COVERLEY GOING TO CHURCH.  
(from the picture by C. R. Leslie, R.A.) [Radclyffe, poet



who hunted daily and drank hard and did little good to himself or his neighbours. It was unfortunate that class distinctions now prevented that absorption of the younger sons of the gentry in commerce and trade which had been characteristic of our earlier history. The many wars of the century found employment for a number of them, it is true, but many became Will Wimbles of the Addisonian type, men bred to no business and born to no estate, and living with elder brothers as managers of their property. As such their best endeavours were associated with hunting and fishing, and they were extremely well-versed in all the little handicrafts of the idle man. Hunting and fishing were, in fact, the favourite amusements of all the countryside, and the game laws were beginning to be stringent. The nobles hunted the deer in their own parks, and the lesser gentry the badger, fox, and hare, each with his own pack of hounds and in his own grounds. Apart from hunting there were assemblies, balls, and routs on the occasion of the assizes or the races, and rounds of visits were paid throughout the year. It became the fashion for the upper classes to spend a portion of each year in London or at a fashionable watering-place, and the custom steadily extended to include their less important brethren.

While society in town and country was thus pursuing its highly-artificial existence the middle classes were also developing. London was then much more important as compared with the provincial towns than it is to-day, and afforded special opportunities for

Life of the  
middle  
classes :



this class. There was now in process of formation an aristocracy of merchants enriched with the spoils of the town of trade, and exercising a considerable influence upon public affairs. Sir Andrew Freeport of the *Spectator* club is typical of the City merchant of Addison's day, honest and indefatigable in business, shrewd and methodical in everything. Class distinctions, too, began to develop in the ranks of this class. The best households with their pewter and silver and their newly-imported porcelain or china showed how the standard of comfort was rising. Merchants now lived in the suburbs, and the more successful shopkeepers left their shops to live there also. If they did not go to Bath, there was Epsom or Tunbridge near at hand, and many now began to pay an annual visit to Brighton or Margate. They also frequented the gardens at Ranelagh or Vauxhall, or if lower in the social grade at Bagnigge Wells or Sadler's Wells ; some enjoyed their visits to the theatre, and they proved much better patrons of the new musical oratorios than did the nobility. These prosperous City men were soberly dressed in brown or black, but their shirts were of dazzling whiteness, their ruffles pronounced, their wigs large and well-combed, their shoes decorated with silver buckles. It was an age in which each profession was still distinguished by its dress : the clergyman walked abroad in gown and cassock ; the lawyer in black silk garments and characteristic wig ; the physician in full dress with sword included, and with a cane the knob of which contained a disinfectant which he sniffed when visiting his patients.

The London merchant now hunted but little, unless, indeed, he bought land, retired, and joined the ranks of the country gentry. He was well content with cards and a modest game at bowls. But London remained the great national centre for sight-seeing : the Tower, Westminster Abbey, St. Paul's Cathedral, and other public buildings were frequented ; its fairs were still highly popular, and acrobats, jugglers, dwarfs, and giants, wild animals and monstrosities, were eagerly visited.

Class distinctions were also invading the country districts, and jealousies were replacing the former  
the  
country  
yeomen. fraternity of all classes. The yeoman of from one to three hundred pounds per annum was sturdily independent and proved a thorn in the side of many a country squire (especially in the matter of game), until the high prices of the French wars and the spread of enclosures caused him to disappear. Many of this class never went farther from their family home than the neighbouring county town, but in that home they displayed a splendid hospitality, which excelled itself in the pleasures of the Christmas season. Their children often compared favourably with those of the country gentry ; their daughters at times made good matches in town and country. At the beginning of the century they followed the fashions of fifty years before, towards its close they were feeling the pressure of the town and were copying it in many ways ; and there was an unfortunate tendency with many to imitate what was worst in it rather than what was best. Sport abounded in the country areas, cricket was

fast becoming a highly-organised game for men, hunting and fishing were common amusements, and archery was also popular.

The general condition of the poor left much to be desired. In the towns they were callous, ignorant, restless, and brutal, as the frequency of riots during this century testifies ; and the newly-developing centres of industry were often areas of drunkenness and vice. The introduction of gin brought with it terrible evils. London especially suffered from the vice of gin-drinking. In 1750 the physicians reported 14,000 cases of illness, most of them hopeless and all due to gin, and this in a population of less than 800,000. Every sixth house became a gin-shop, and in the two years 1738-40 no fewer than 12,000 persons were convicted of the unlicensed sale of this spirit. Popular amusements were of a degrading type : bull-fighting and cock-fighting were popular ; gambling spread to all classes and was encouraged by the system of public lotteries. These were not abolished until 1824. The public journey of criminals from Newgate prison to Tyburn was a monthly public spectacle until it was abolished in 1783. The dress of the poor was coarse and ragged ; the better class of mechanics could be recognised by their long-sleeved waistcoats, knee-breeches, and grey worsted stockings, and by the apron which most of them wore.

The lot of the agricultural labourer during the first half of the century was good, except that long hours of work from an early age left him ignorant

and isolated ; but after 1760 the loss of domestic by-industries and the progress of enclosure made his case a hard one, and the maladministration of poor-law relief finally dragged him down in many cases to hopeless pauperism. The old smock-frock was still in general use, and in many country places the tall steeple-shaped and broad-brimmed woman's hat, now only seen as a curiosity in certain parts of Wales, was still common among the poorer classes.

But while the condition of the poor was changing for the worse, there was, on the whole, marked progress in all other grades of society. The continued improvements in highways, hotels, inns, and general means of communication did something to diffuse better manners among all classes, to lessen the ignorance of the poor, and to fill up the gulf between town and country. There was a developing interest in literature and science : the theatre of Garrick, Kemble, and Mrs. Siddons, the art of Reynolds, Gainsborough, and Morland, the music of Handel, are all evidences of refinement of taste. Towards the close of the century women gained a position in intellectual circles, chiefly through the efforts of Mrs. Montagu, who formed parties without cards in which ladies shared in the conversation of literary celebrities like Dr. Johnson, and earned from the scoffers the title of blue-stocking for so doing. But an age which read the novels of Fielding, Sterne, and Smollett, and loved the prize-ring and the cock-pit, can scarcely be said

to have been a refined one. Duelling remained a necessity for public men, and both Fox and Pitt engaged in these contests. Prisons needed reform and punishments were outrageous. There was nevertheless a softening tendency visible at the close of the century in the Evangelical movement in the Church, the spread of Methodism, and the lessening of drunkenness and gambling, and the way was opening for the humanitarianism of the nineteenth century.

## CHAPTER XXXIV.

### A GREAT RELIGIOUS REVIVAL.

THE close of the seventeenth century marks the end of that earnest religious enthusiasm which

Decline of Puritanism. had been so characteristic of the English people from the days of the Reformation to the victory of Puritanism in the Revolution of 1688. Zeal was now replaced by general indifference towards all matters of religious thought and practice. The Bible, which had been so definitely the guide of the people for a century or more, was replaced in very many cases by works of philosophy whose shallow optimism is well reflected in Pope's Essays, with their doctrine of "Whatever is, is right." Nonconformist and Churchman alike seemed to regard common sense as the most valuable of virtues and guides of conduct. Religious enthusiasm was looked upon with disfavour. The development of scientific thought during the seventeenth century had changed men's conception of the universe, and there

The eighteenth century the era of common sense. was a strong desire to appeal in all things to the intellect rather than to the emotions. Christianity began to be attacked by the Deists as irrational and unscientific, and its defenders were more careful to show that it was reasonable and in

accordance with what was termed natural religion than to ground their beliefs upon a supernatural and spiritual basis. Their appeal was an appeal to the reason rather than to the experience of Christian men. The older personal appeal to the conscience of man had for the time passed away. The personal sense of conviction of sin which made Cromwell declare that he had lived in and loved darkness and had hated light, and had made Bunyan regard himself as the chief of sinners, was now replaced by an appeal to morality and common sense. The emotional side of religion was neglected and emphasis was placed upon its moral aspects. It was a time when the imagination was repressed in matters religious as it was also subordinated in art and literature. It was not so much that the English people became immoral or irreligious as that they became non-religious ; they were still in the main a sober and virtuous people, but religion now seemed to hold but a small place in their regard.

This new standpoint in religion is true of Churchman and Nonconformist alike. The persecutions of the reign of Charles II. had kept the early Nonconformists strong ; Presbyterians, Independents, Baptists, and Quakers had clung to their faith in the days of adversity. But the Revolution was the triumph of the Whigs ; and the Whigs believed in compromise. Hence in the days of their success the doctrine of compromise reigned supreme not only in the sphere of politics, but also in the sphere of religion. Under James II.,

Position  
of the  
Noncon-  
formists.

too, there had been the prospect of a reconciliation of the Puritan with the Churchman, for both parties had been united in a common antagonism to Catholicism. But the Puritan refused to benefit by any declaration of indulgence which would also aid the Catholic; while many members of the Church of England still favoured the Stuarts, and the doctrine of divine right was as yet by no means dead. Hence William III. struggled in vain for a basis of compromise which should once more unite the English Protestants; some four hundred clergy, including Sancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury, and five other bishops, all of whom had been amongst those celebrated bishops who had refused to read the Declaration of Indulgence issued by James II. in 1688, now refused also to take the oath of allegiance to the new sovereigns, standing aside as non-jurors and advocates of divine right and passive obedience. And although William III. was able to fill their places with Whig bishops, the majority of the country clergy remained Tory and High Church, and Convocation refused to countenance any alterations in doctrine or ritual which would make it possible for the Nonconformists to return to the fold of the Anglican Church. The Test Act of

Test Act, 1673 had made the taking of the Sacrament of the Church of England a necessary qualification for almost all national and civic offices, but this had not prevented moderate Dissenters from sharing in those offices; and an Act of Toleration, 1689, gave liberty of worship under easy conditions to all ordinary Noncon-



formists, only Catholics and Unitarians being excluded. The meeting-houses of dissenters could now be registered as places of public worship, and registration carried with it rights of legal protection. By 1720 at least 4000 buildings had been registered, many of them being at first only temporary buildings ; a century later there were more than 20,000 such places registered.

The Revolution thus brought with it the principle of religious toleration, though not that of religious equality ; dissenters could now worship in their own way, though they could not hold certain public offices or send their sons to the universities, and much more would have been done by the King had it not been for the opposition of the Church. With the recovery by the Tory party of something of their old power, however, in the last years of Anne's reign, the High Church party once more asserted itself. The occasional conformity by which Nonconformists had evaded the Test Act was stopped in 1711 by an Act of Parliament which provided that persons holding public office and attending a Nonconformist place of worship should forfeit that office and be subject to fine. An ill-judged Whig impeachment of Dr. Sacheverell, a

High Church reaction under Anne. Dr. Sacheverell. divine who maintained the doctrine of non-resistance in two sermons preached at St. Paul's, gave the Tories a rallying-ground and a cry of the Church in danger, which showed how zealous the country clergy and country people still were for the Church. Sacheverell was found

guilty, but his punishment was so light as to be virtually an acquittal. There were riots in many part of the country, the meeting-houses and residences of dissenters were destroyed, and Sacheverell's journey through the country was a triumphal procession and weakened still further the failing Whig Government. Finally, with the return of the Tory party to power came the Schism Act of 1714, which enjoined that no person should maintain a school or act as a tutor in Great Britain who had not first signed a declaration of conformity to the Church of England, and obtained a licence from the bishop of the diocese in which the school was situated. This Act passed the House of Lords by a small majority, but owing to the death of the Queen it never came into force, and the succession of George I. restored the Whig leaders to place and power.

For the next twenty years England remained in a state of religious stagnation. Bishopricks were used as rewards for those of the clergy who could support the Ministry by their pen; ability to maintain a political argument was a surer means of promotion than sanctity of life. Yet, though the bishops were Whigs, the country clergy, who were the leaders and teachers of the country gentry and the agricultural labourers, were rarely of their way of thinking. Moreover, while many of the leaders of the Church and the clergy of the towns were men of learning, as was natural at a time when the Church had almost a monopoly of university education and preferment, the country clergy

Religious  
stagnation,  
1714-1730.

were, generally speaking, of very poor type. Their incomes had been fixed at the Reformation at a low figure, and rising prices ever since that time had made these incomes quite inadequate. Many of

the clergy found much of their time occupied in worldly affairs in an endeavour to make both ends meet; many were ignorant and coarse, and preferred fox-hunting, drinking, and

feasting to the care of souls. Something was done to help their incomes by Queen Anne. She surrendered to them the first-fruits, a tax of a tenth originally levied to support the Crusades, but seized by Henry VIII. and all his successors. The need of this bounty is evident when we find that before its surrender there were 5597 clergy with incomes under £50 a year. The parson was often subservient to the country squire, and like him was indifferent to religion and to the welfare of his parishioners; the position of the domestic chaplain was still worse, for he was looked upon as a useful but inferior servant whose ability to read and write and keep accounts was valued more highly than his ability to pray and preach. The strength of Nonconformity lay in the towns. Many of the successful tradesmen and merchants were dissenters. There was much wealth associated with these denominations, and some of their preachers were men of intellectual and literary distinction.

The majority of the people were quite indifferent to questions of religion save when their fanaticism was aroused by those who usurped the place of

leaders. Addison's Tory publican had no time to attend church, but he found himself able on two or three occasions to head the mob when they went to pull down a meeting-house. At a time when the pulpit was to thousands of English people the only source of public instruction, large numbers of them were left without any spiritual or moral guidance. The developing industries were collecting together large numbers of people in new industrial areas, but the Church was making no effort whatever for their spiritual well-being. Thousands never entered a church. Sunday had with many become a day of cock-fighting, drunkenness, and vice. In 1751 Bishop Butler lamented the general decay of religion in the nation; the historian Hume described the English people as settled into the most cool indifference with regard to religion that was to be found in any nation in the world.

Yet when matters had thus reached their worst, a large proportion of even the apparently indifferent remained at heart religious.   
Need of a religious revival. Honest industry and respect for domestic life were still general among the middle classes and the poor. What was wanted was the revival of a practical religion, a fresh appeal to the emotions; the people would quickly respond to earnest preaching of this sort from whatever source it came. Such was the pressing need of the time, and as so often happens the time produced the men who could satisfy the need.

In the year 1729 a few Oxford students began to meet together weekly for the purpose of common help in the endeavour to lead a strict and ordered

life governed by the rules of the Bible. Amongst them were two brothers, John and Charles Wesley, the sons of a Lincolnshire clergyman, and George Whitefield, the son of a Gloucester innkeeper. This small society of young men soon became prominent from the singular goodness and careful rule and method of their lives, and were nicknamed by an undergraduate the *Methodists*. They were mainly concerned in saving their own souls and in helping one another to serve God aright, but they also began to visit the prisoners in the jail, to preach to the poor in Oxford, and to teach and help the poor and ignorant children of the town. Most of them became clergymen of the Church of England; and the organising ability and natural power of control of John Wesley marked him at once as the leader of the movement. He paid a visit to the newly-founded colony of Georgia in the hope of doing missionary work among the Indians, but did not meet with much success either with them or with the colonists. On the voyage out, however, he came in contact with a number of German Protestants of the sect known as Moravians, who were intending to settle in America, and he was much impressed by their personal conviction of having been saved from sin. Before Wesley returned to England, Whitefield had begun his career as a wonderful preacher by a series of sermons to the colliers of Kingswood, near Bristol. The colliers of this time were conspicuously irreligious, and the Kingswood colliers were perhaps

The  
work of  
Whitefield  
and  
Wesley.



WESLEY'S LIFE IN DANGER FROM THE MOB AT WEDNESBURY.



amongst the worst of them. But Whitefield immediately established a great power over them, and very many of them responded to his appeal and became genuinely religious men. Whitefield, who had a great respect for John Wesley, begged him to visit Kingswood as an organiser of the work and an instructor of the new converts, qualities in which Whitefield, with his wonderful powers of oratory, was lacking. At first Wesley hesitated to accept the invitation ; he felt above all things that he was a member of the Church and that it was his duty to be loyal to it. But the pronounced opposition of the bishops and clergy to the work he was doing left him with but little alternative. These new preachers of evangelical Christianity, of a religion that could not only be professed but also experienced, soon had almost all the pulpits of the land closed against them. Wesley found that if he hoped to preach the message which he felt himself so strongly called upon to deliver he would have to do it in the open air ; so he went to Kingswood and began his career as an evangelist, with the world for his parish and with all sorts and conditions of men as his parishioners.

He and Whitefield were the most important of a number of men who thus called back the English people by a religious revival to a sense of their sin. The others included his brother Charles, who became the singer of the movement and beautified it with many noble hymns, Fletcher of Madeley in Shropshire, Perronet of Shoreham in Kent, Grimshaw of Haworth in Yorkshire, a most remarkable man, and many more. Whitefield was



above all the orator of the movement, Wesley its organiser, director, and governor, for the movement was one which needed careful direction and control. Many stories are told of Whitefield's impassioned eloquence, and its effect upon such diverse persons as Garrick, Lord Chesterfield, Horace Walpole, Benjamin Franklin, and Hume. In the west of England and in London his audiences numbered from ten to twenty thousand people ; persons were moved to hysterical laughter or violent weeping or fell to the earth in an agony of repentance. Wesley's appeal was more to the individual, though he, too, became a famous field preacher with audiences as large as Whitefield's, and his preaching was attended with the same phenomena. Both men laboured strenuously at all times : Whitefield made no fewer than seven journeys to America ; Wesley would sometimes journey on horseback some eighty or ninety miles a day ; and in fifty years of this itinerant life preached more than forty thousand sermons, an average of some fifteen per week. Throughout his long life of eighty-eight years, too, Wesley lived ascetically, and gave freely of his means to the poor. When his income was £30 a year, he managed to live on £28 and gave away the other £2 ; when he was in receipt of £120 he still lived upon £28, and used the remaining £92 for charitable purposes. In the midst of his sermons and travels he found time for writing, and engaged in many controversies.

The But where his skill was especially shown  
 Methodist was in his organisation of the new  
 Societies. societies he had called into being, with  
 their weekly class-meetings, their love-feasts, and

their employment of members of the laity as preachers and class-leaders. Some of these lay preachers were very remarkable men and were of great assistance to him in the work he had undertaken. During the earlier years of the movement all the leaders were fiercely assailed by the mob, and some of their escapes from a violent death seem well-nigh miraculous. Their greatest successes were gained in the crowded industrial areas amongst the miners and other workers ; the least impression was produced upon the agricultural population. The majority of their converts were drawn from the middle and lower classes, but not exclusively so ; Whitefield especially found a favourable hearing in society, and Selina, Countess of Huntingdon, and others of the aristocracy supported his work.

Differences of opinion arose between the leaders through Whitefield's adoption of Calvinistic beliefs, and the movement divided into two branches. The more important was that which followed Wesley. Under his skilful and autocratic control the Methodist movement began to assume a distinctive form and government, though he himself protested to the last against any separation from the Church of England. It is evident that the conduct of these field preachers was in many respects irregular ; they were clergymen who were not obeying the injunctions of their spiritual masters, but were acting often in direct opposition to them. Had the Church been controlled by wiser governors it is possible that separation might have been avoided ; it was a

Separation  
of the  
Methodists  
from the  
Church of  
England.

great misfortune that the leaders of the Church recognised neither the good work that was being done in the religious, moral, and social regeneration of the country, nor the obvious necessity for such work. Relations between the Methodists and the Church became more and more strained, and in 1795, four years after their founder's death, the Wesleyan Methodists became a separate body.

The effect of this great religious revival was by no means confined to the new societies and associations it had called into being. Above all it exercised a tremendous influence upon the very church which had refused to recognise it, or to receive

its devotees within its own circle of membership. The Evangelical movement entered the Church, and gave to its members a new spiritual devotion. The attitude of many of the clergy towards their parishioners was changed completely. Many de-

vout and earnest men became preachers on the Church; of its doctrines and observers of its practices. Notable among these were many members of the University of Cambridge, where the influence of the Evangelical movement was strongly felt, one of the most important of the Cambridge preachers being the celebrated evangelical, Charles Simeon. At the same time it also stimulated the older Nonconformists to renewed religious zeal, and many successful preachers and writers were associated with the various Nonconformist de-

ominations. In literature the movement showed itself chiefly in the production of a number of excellent hymns, the work

of Charles Wesley and his brother, of John Newton the pastor of Olney, of Isaac Watts, and of the poet Cowper, whose hymns are especially the product of an evangelical mind.

Still more widespread was the influence of the revival upon the tone and temper of the age. A <sup>on</sup> new spirit of kindness and mercy took philanthropy. possession of the people and led to the development of much noble philanthropy. Wesley had ever associated this spirit with his work. He saw to the building and maintenance of a school for the children of the colliers of Kingswood and of an orphanage at Newcastle-on-Tyne. Robert Raikes of Gloucester followed his example by founding a Sunday school in which poor and ignorant children might learn to read the Bible, and Sunday schools soon became a feature of religious work everywhere. At the close of the century the principle of education for the children of the poor was extended to day schools by a young Quaker named Joseph Lancaster, and a military chaplain, Dr. Bell, the development of whose work will be traced in another chapter. Hannah More of Bristol visited the agricultural poor of the west of England in their own homes, and worked for them and wrote and pleaded on their behalf with beneficial results. Thomas Clarkson and William Wilberforce struggled for the abolition of the slave trade and saw their efforts crowned with success in 1807. Societies were also established for the purpose of educating the poor in religion and good manners. It was in the same spirit that men now laboured for religious toleration, and though their efforts

were for a time rendered fruitless by the French Revolution and the consequent political reaction in England, they finally accomplished their object by the Repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts in 1828, and by other subsequent measures which acted in the same direction.

## CHAPTER XXXV.

### SOME FAMOUS AGRICULTURISTS.

THE agricultural developments of the seventeenth century made but slow progress in the country as a whole. When the century ended only a small portion of England was actually benefiting from the introduction of root crops, the sowing of clover and artificial grasses, and the better methods of cultivation. As late as the middle of the eighteenth century the full value of turnips and clover was only realised in the Eastern counties; their use was quite unknown in some parts of the country. Large areas were still worked on the open-field system after the fashion of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Farmers held obstinately to the customs of their forefathers; implements and tools were such as had been in use for generations, and were in many cases clumsy home-made contrivances. The commonest mode of tenure in the case of tenant-farmers was an agreement which could be terminated on either side by a six months' notice, and this lack of security, coupled with the real danger that any improvement would result in an immediate increase of rent, held many farmers back. Difficulties of transport made any appeal to wider

markets well-nigh impossible. Communication between different parts of the country was extremely difficult. Even when the Turnpike Trusts of 1663 and subsequent years took the main roads in hand, the by-roads and country lanes were left neglected; they were narrow enough to be impassable by two wagons abreast, and soft enough to require large teams of horses and at times the use of the spade to dig vehicles out of the mud into which they had sunk. Under such conditions it is scarcely a matter of wonder that the isolated country farmer, who had got so far as to profit by convertible husbandry, was content to live by supplying the needs of his own immediate neighbourhood. He had reached what we may term the domestic stage of agricultural industry and he had no desire to pass beyond it.

Yet, if progress was to be made, it was absolutely necessary to get the farmers out of their ancestral rut: to show them, on the one hand, the gain which would come from improved methods of cultivation and the introduction of new crops, and, on the other, to teach them the value of scientific stock-breeding. They required stimulating in both these directions, and the best possible stimulus for them was the example of others who were doing these things and were finding it profitable to do them. Landlords who could and would spend capital upon their land, who were not living from hand to mouth but could afford to wait a few years for a return from their investments, were required to lead the way.

At the Restoration the country gentleman had gained in power and prestige, and the desire to become a landed proprietor was widespread. In the eighteenth century the Whigs, who ruled England for many years, looked upon agriculture as the most important English industry and sought to help it as much as possible, for land bore a great share of the burden of taxation. There was a movement towards the consolidation of estates ; large areas began to be collected in the hands of a few persons ; farms began to increase in size. This change naturally brought with it men who had the capital necessary for the working of the land, as well as the intelligence necessary for making experiments, for using new and better implements, and for designing improved farm-buildings. The landed proprietors and, in certain parts of the country, the yeomen and tenant-farmers began to be keenly interested in agriculture and devoted much time and attention to it. They were followed by city men and commercial magnates who made agriculture a hobby and a source of profit, who put their money into land and expected a good return for it.

The result was that great advances were made. Aided by a bounty on export when wheat was below forty-eight shillings a quarter, aided also by a fall in the price of wool and by the fact that under convertible husbandry the old worn-out arable had obtained rest and recovery, these farmers made England a corn-producing country, able to supply

Importance  
of  
agriculture  
in  
eighteenth-  
century  
England.

Encourage-  
ment of  
corn-  
growing.



its own population and, until 1760, able also to export corn to the Continent. And even after that date, when industrial changes began to take place and the population grew rapidly, the country was still able to meet the increased demand for food. This result was in large measure due to the work of a few landlords and tenant-farmers who

Pioneers of acted as pioneers, and made progress  
 agricultural possible by their teaching and example.  
 improve- Landlords could test the new methods  
 ments : before introducing them to their  
 tenants, and could make their adoption certain by the encouragement of long leases and security of tenure, and by the stimulus of higher rents. They could also substitute farms of 300 or 400 acres for the older farms of 100 acres or less, farms which would be occupied by men of better education and intelligence than the older type of farmers, overseers of the work of their labourers rather than workers themselves.

The earliest of these pioneers was the son of a Berkshire landowner, Jethro Tull. He was the Jethro Tull, inventor of a drill for sowing seed and 1674-1740; the first English farmer to realise that the great secret of successful tillage was the frequent and deep working of the soil. He did much important experimental work in connection with the depth to which seed should be sown, and the amount which should be sown per acre; he also emphasised the necessity of careful selection of seed if good crops were to be obtained. In 1693, and again between 1711 and 1714, he visited France and Italy, and it was the observation of the

frequent ploughings of the ground between the rows of vines which gave him the idea of constantly working the ground after the seed had been sown. But this was, of course, impossible as long as seed was sown broadcast, and so he was led to the idea of sowing his seed in rows with wide spaces between which could be worked with a horse-hoe, and so kept clear of weeds. His labourers objected to his new methods, and it was his trouble with them that caused him to invent a drill to enable him to sow seed without their help. He has been termed "the greatest individual improver agriculture ever knew," and English agriculture certainly owes very much to him. But his principles found little support during his own lifetime, and he left them to posterity in his *Horse-hoeing Industry*, a book first published in 1731.

Tull's methods were not likely to be followed to any great extent until some intelligent landowner adopted them and put them into practice. Fortunately such a person was <sup>Charles</sup> Townshend, <sup>1674-1738</sup>; found almost immediately. Charles, Viscount Townshend, had spent the greater part of his life as a statesman, and had been associated with his brother-in-law, Walpole, in the government of England. A quarrel with Walpole in 1730 led to Townshend's retirement from politics, and he settled upon his estate at Rainham in Norfolk and became a zealous farmer. Much of his land consisted of a light sandy soil and was overrun by rabbits. He revived the practice of marling; adopted Tull's principles in working his land; paid much attention to the question of rotation of

crops and especially to the growth of turnips ; and introduced the Norfolk or four-course rotation of turnips, barley, clover and rye grass, and wheat. These measures prevented unproductive fallow and enabled him to carry more stock on his lands ; and more stock meant more manure, which in its turn led to still better crops and therefore to still more stock. His innovations made Norfolk a leading agricultural county ; in thirty years the rental of one farm rose from £180 to £800 ; another, which had been in the hands of a rabbit warrener at £18, became a farm of the annual rental of £240.

The work of Townshend was continued by Thomas Coke of Holkham, Norfolk, a member of

Coke of Parliament for the county for the Holkham, greater part of the period 1776 to 1837, 1752-1842 ; and a peer of the realm after 1837. He succeeded in 1776 to an unenclosed estate and found it in a wretched condition. The refusal of one of his tenants to renew a lease at five shillings an acre left him with land upon his hands, and he determined to farm for himself. He marled his sandy soils ; fed them well with manures, including bones which he was one of the first farmers to use ; used drill and hoe in accordance with the precepts of Tull ; and in nine years was growing excellent wheat crops, and by means of clover, sainfoin, and roots was making his land carry three times as many sheep and cattle as it had ever done before. He also introduced new artificial foods such as oil-cake, and led the way in fattening cattle for the London markets. Cattle were driven south in droves from Scotland to London, grazing along the

roadsides as they went, and many of these were bought by the Norfolk farmers and fattened for the Smithfield Market by grazing and by stall feeding. Coke laboured in all possible ways to make his tenants sharers in his improvements. From 1778 to 1821 he held yearly meetings of farmers at his house, and at these meetings farming topics were discussed and much advice was given and received. At first he himself benefited by the discussions, but he soon became the teacher of his neighbours; finally these "Holkham sheep-shearings," as they came to be called, attracted people from all parts of the country; at the last of them no fewer than 7000 persons were present. He found it difficult to alter the traditional practices of his tenants, but by acting as a pioneer, by using all new methods and by growing all new crops first for himself and thus showing in practical fashion the benefits to be derived from them, he broke down all opposition. He did much, too, by granting longer leases on moderate terms and by not raising rents as a result of improvements, as well as by insisting upon certain methods of cultivation in all lands held under him. The cottages and farm-buildings on his estate were models for other landlords to follow; he encouraged the wider use of potatoes as a food; he changed the appearance of the countryside by planting trees upon his land. It is estimated that the annual rental of his estate rose from £2200 in 1776 to £20,000 in 1816.

While Norfolk landlords were thus making great improvements in arable farming a Leicestershire

farmer was revolutionising English methods of stock-breeding. Robert Bakewell was the son of a practical farmer, and succeeded in Bakewell, 1755 to his father's farm at Dishley, 1725-1795; near Loughborough. He had already given much attention to the question of stock-breeding. Up to this time sheep had been valued chiefly for their wool, the production of mutton had been quite a secondary consideration; cattle had been valued as draught animals and milk producers rather than as sources of beef. The time was now at hand when meat was to be the first consideration of breeders, and it was to this point that Bakewell turned his attention. He believed that it was possible to obtain an animal which would fatten quickly and weigh heavily in the best joints. The art of stock-breeding can scarcely be said to have existed at this time. Each district had its own peculiar breed which was supposed to be specially suited to the locality, and the usual method of producing a new variety was to bring together animals of different types. Bakewell realised that what was really necessary was an improvement of the one type by patient choice of animals possessing just those qualities he wished to develop. By this method he produced a new breed of sheep, the New Leicesters; a type which proved well fitted for the farms of the midland counties. He also developed a new stock of cattle, though here he was less successful, and also a good draught horse.

Bakewell's own successes, however, were really only a small portion of his valuable services as a

pioneer. Farmers visited Dishley from all quarters and became converts to his methods. The result was a marked improvement in the breeds of sheep and cattle throughout the country.

George Culley, 1735-1813; farmer, did much to improve cattle both by writing and by actual practice;  
 Charles Colling, 1751-1836; Charles Colling of Ketton, near Darlington, and his brother Robert greatly improved the Shorthorn breed of cattle;  
 John Ellman, 1753-1832; John Ellman of Glynde in Sussex made the Southdown sheep a famous variety. Many others followed in their footsteps, and sheep and cattle rearing became a very important branch of the farming industry. Help came also from the foundation of farmers' clubs and meetings and from the cattle shows. The Smithfield Cattle Show dates from 1793, the Smithfield Club from 1798. Whereas in 1710 at Smithfield Market the average weight of beeves had been 370 lbs., of calves 50 lbs., of sheep 28 lbs., and of lambs 18 lbs., the corresponding weights in 1795 were 800 lbs., 145 lbs., 80 lbs., and 50 lbs. respectively.

But the work of these pioneers was confined to certain districts, and only in favoured localities, such as the Eastern counties, Hertfordshire, and Leicestershire, was there any marked improvement at first. What was still wanted was a missionary, who would spread the news of the new methods throughout the country, and would attack the bad methods still in common use. Such a person was found in Arthur Young, the greatest of all English agricultural writers. Young brought to the task great

ability as a writer conjoined with splendid skill in observation and inquiry. He was fortunate in the time of his life, for his efforts were aided by the food requirements of the people in the new industrial towns, and therefore by the golden prospect of gain which seemed to be opening out to farmers everywhere in England. He started his association with agriculture as a practical farmer, but met with little success and so turned his attention to writing. In 1767 he made the first of a series of tours through rural England and France, journeys which furnished him with an intimate knowledge of the methods of English and French agriculture. In 1770 he published his *Tour through the North of England*, and in the next year his *Farmer's Tour through the East of England*. In 1784 he commenced his *Annals of Agriculture*, a monthly publication which extended to forty-six volumes, and numbered among its contributors George III., who wrote under the name of his Windsor shepherd, Ralph Robinson.

A Board of Agriculture was established by Pitt in 1793, and Young was made its Secretary. Commissioners were sent out by the Board to report on the agricultural conditions of each county, and Young became responsible for six of the counties. For the rest of his life he worked indefatigably for the cause he had at heart. He made a vigorous crusade in favour of enclosures, larger farms, and longer leases ; made the new methods more widely known by his writings ; pleaded for a five-fold

Arthur  
Young,  
1741-1820.  
Establish-  
ment of a  
Board of  
Agriculture.

course of turnips, barley, clover, clover, wheat ; and encouraged the formation of agricultural societies and shows. Progress now became rapid. New crops were freely cultivated by the new

Rapid methods and with better implements.  
agricultural Sir Humphry Davy began his lectures  
progress. in agricultural chemistry in 1803, his first course being given before the Board of Agriculture. Just as the domestic spinners and weavers were giving place to the capitalist manufacturer and his factory workman, so also the yeoman and small farmer were being displaced by the capitalist landlord and his agricultural labourer. Neither change was effected without hardship and suffering on the part of those who were dispossessed, but the agricultural revolution enabled the rapidly-increasing industrial population to be fed, at a time when there were no sufficient colonial or foreign sources of supply ; and the country landlords contributed to the heavy burden of taxation which provided Pitt with the money which proved so effective a contribution to the downfall of Napoleon.



## CHAPTER XXXVI.

### THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION.

#### I. AN AGE OF INVENTION.

At the beginning of the eighteenth century English industries were in the domestic stage of manufacture and English trade was still under the control of the Mercantile system. The most important industry was agriculture ; the production of wool and corn was, in the eyes of the statesmen of that era, the best and surest ground of England's greatness. It is difficult for us to realise that even at the accession of George III. in 1760 our country was still very backward in nearly all kinds of industrial processes ; and that much that was best in industry was due to the work of alien immigrants. England was not yet an industrial country, even though in the woollen trade she was producing far in excess of her own requirements and was exporting the surplus to the American colonies and the continent of Europe.

But though her industry was insignificant as compared with that of our own times, she was even then one of the most important commercial nations of Europe, and within half a century she had become the workshop of the world by a remarkable

change which has been rightly termed a revolution, for it was indeed the greatest revolution England has ever known. It would be impossible to say exactly when this change commenced ; it is easy to show that the change was very rapid between 1770 and 1830. Its beginnings are associated with the efforts of the alien immigrants, the new stirrings of scientific thought, and the dissatisfaction felt at the restricted and exclusive trading rights of the Mercantile system. The expansion of manufactures at home was necessarily preceded by an expansion of trade overseas. Capital, too, was necessary if advantage was to be taken of the new and larger markets. The prevalence of reckless speculation on the newly-opened Stock Exchange, and the existence of speculative follies such as the South Sea Bubble, 1720, suggest that plenty of money was becoming available. The trades which required a large amount of initial capital were as yet non-existent.

An Industrial Revolution. The great English capitalists of the day were rather the merchant princes and the great trading companies, and it was only with the Industrial Revolution that the great capitalist manufacturers became very prominent. Previously, even in the woollen trade, much of the work was done by many manufacturers each with a small capital, and the distribution of the product was mainly in the hands of the merchants.

Once the larger markets had made an increased output profitable there came in a very short period of time a remarkable series of inventions associated either with better machinery or with better sources

of power. This led quickly to a revolution in industrial methods, to the substitution of vigorous competition for the older regulation and monopoly of trade, to the replacement of domestic industry by our modern factory system, and to the concentration of large numbers of people in crowded towns and cities.

The manufacture of woollen goods was easily first among English manufactures in the period preceding this revolution. It had enjoyed

English  
industries  
in 1760 :  
(a) the  
woollen  
trade ;

this pride of place for centuries, and its development had been carefully fostered. The Government had always been ready to prevent competition from

Ireland, the colonies, or the Continent, and to extend the scope of the trade by commercial treaties such as the Methuen Treaty with Portugal, 1703, by which that country agreed to allow English woollens to enter Portugal and her colonies if the wines of Portugal were admitted to England at two-thirds the current duties on French wines, a treaty which made port the drink of English gentlemen. So much cloth was required that in the clothing areas every village and hamlet had its hand-loom weavers, and old and young throughout the English countryside occupied their spare moments and quiet evenings in spinning yarn. The eastern counties, especially the towns of Norwich and Colchester, were still important centres of the trade, the west of England was still producing unrivalled broadcloth at Bradford, Devizes, Frome, Stroud, and other towns, the West Riding of Yorkshire was producing coarse

cloths and worsteds in the towns and villages surrounding the markets of Halifax and Leeds.

The iron industry was declining in the older areas of production. The destruction of forests

(b) the iron industry; to provide charcoal for the iron furnaces had resulted in a scarcity of fuel. In 1737 the output was only 17,350 tons, while 20,000 tons were imported from Sweden and the Biscayan provinces. The Weald and the Forest of Dean still had their furnaces, and Shropshire and south Yorkshire were becoming very busy iron areas. Important ironworks were established in 1709 by Abraham Darby at Coalbrookdale, in 1755 by Anthony Bacon at Merthyr Tydvil, and in 1760 by Roebuck at Carron, near Falkirk. Cutlery was made at Sheffield and hardware, especially copper and brass goods, in the Birmingham area; both trades were in the hands of small manufacturers.

Of the other British industries, hosiery was becoming more and more a midland industry;

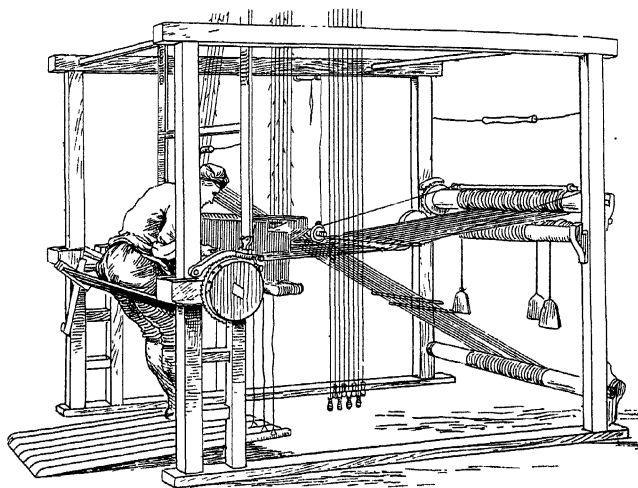
(c) hosiery, silk-spinning was moving to the south-  
(d) silk manufacture; western slopes of the Pennines, though weaving still centred round Spitalfields, and ribbons were made at Coventry; in 1719 Sir Thomas Lombe had introduced the Italian methods of silk-throwing, that is, of spinning silk, in his famous silk mill at Derby. The south of Scotland and Ulster were the chief seats of the linen industry, and Lancashire of the cotton. But

(e) linen and cotton goods were a comparatively insignificant branch of trade; the total export in 1760 was only one-twentieth of the

export of woollens, and no pure cotton goods were made, for a linen warp was necessary owing to the lack of strength of the cotton yarn then spun.

It is interesting to find that almost all the great improvements in the machinery for textile opera-

ations were invented for use in the cotton trade. This was not a very important industry at this time and it depended



EARLY HAND-LOOM.

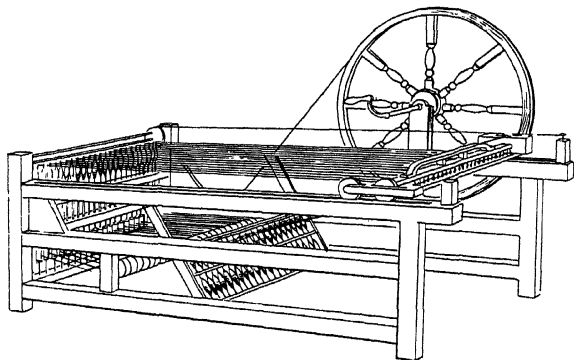
upon a foreign raw material, and these facts saved it from being protected or interfered with by the Government. Yet it was in the woollen industry that the need of better machinery was first felt. The worst drawback to a weaver's hand-loom was that the shuttle containing the weft to be passed

through the threads of the stretched warp had to be moved backwards and forwards by the weaver's hands. This restricted the width of the cloth he could make by himself, and wider pieces had to be the joint work of two weavers. In 1733 John Kay's fly-shuttle; Kay of Colchester and Bury invented a method by which the weaver could jerk the shuttle across from one side to the other and back again by the use of one hand only. This flying shuttle enabled cloths of any width to be made by a single weaver, and also doubled the pace at which the weaving could be done.

Now that the pace of weaving was accelerated it became difficult to get sufficient yarn from the spinners to keep the weavers employed. Not only was the woollen trade extending, but Lancashire was also increasing its output of cotton goods. It took ten spinners to provide enough yarn for the work of one weaver, and weavers were often under the necessity of making a daily round of some four or five hours' duration to collect yarn enough for a day's weaving. Attention was therefore turned to the question of spinning, and in 1764 a Blackburn carpenter named James Hargreaves conceived the idea of a spinning-frame containing a number of revolving spindles worked by a common source of power. It is said that the idea came to him from seeing his wife's overturned spinning-wheel still revolving on the floor with the spindle in a vertical position; he certainly named his new machine the spinning-jenny in honour of his wife. He himself used only eight spindles in his

machine, but other spinners soon began to use many more, some employing as many as a hundred and twenty. The machine was so simple that it could be worked by children.

In 1769 a still better machine was patented by Richard Arkwright, a barber of Preston, who used a principle already worked upon by Lewis Paul and John Wyatt some twenty years previously. This was to pass the carded cotton now ready for spinning between four pairs of rollers, each successive pair



HARGREAVES' SPINNING-JENNY.

of which moved at a greater velocity than the preceding one. The cotton was thus drawn out to the required fineness, and was then twisted into yarn by revolving spindles. As Arkwright adapted his machine to use with water-power it became known as the water-frame; its great advantage over the spinning-jenny was that it produced a yarn strong enough to be used as a

warp, and thus made the manufacture of purely cotton goods a commercial possibility.

Finally, in 1779, a Bolton spinner named Samuel Crompton combined the jenny and water-frame in Crompton's his "mule" or "muslin wheel," and mule; added a contrivance to prevent the frequent breakings of the yarn which occurred when spinning with the jenny. The result was a yarn much finer and stronger than any produced before, and capable of being used in the making of fine muslins.

All these inventions had been concerned with spinning, and the relations between spinner and weaver had in consequence changed completely, for now the hand-loom was unable to weave cloth as fast as the machine could spin the yarn for it. Attention was therefore directed to the production of a power-loom, and the first was patented Cartwright's in 1785 by a Kentish clergyman named power- Edmund Cartwright. In its earliest loom; form this loom was so heavy and clumsy as to be of little use, but subsequent improvements by Cartwright himself, and by several manufacturers, including Radcliffe and Horrocks, made the power-loom effective, and after 1813 it came into general use.

There were also many other inventions associated with various branches of the textile industry. other Paul had invented a system of carding inventions. or straightening out the cotton fibre by machinery as early as 1748. Cartwright and others made machines to replace the corresponding hand-combing of wool. In 1783 the invention of a



Scotchman named Bell superseded the old method of printing calicoes by hand-blocks, and increased the rate of production a hundredfold ; the new cotton machines were adapted to the linen and woollen trades ; improvements were made in the hosiery manufacture and in 1808 Joseph Heathcoat patented a machine for the making of lace.

These developments were accompanied by considerable opposition on the part of the workers, who saw in them only a probable loss of employment. Sometimes the new machines were destroyed, sometimes the inventor was forced to move to another part of the country. Arkwright had to transfer his machines from Lancashire to a mill at Cromford in Derbyshire ; Heathcoat was compelled to leave Loughborough and commence the manufacture of machine-made lace at Tiverton.

The improvements in machinery called for corresponding improvements in motive-power.

Improvements in motive power :	Various methods were adopted to supplement the hand as a source of power, wind and water wheels were used and animals also were employed ; it was this use of water that helped to transfer the woollen industry from the eastern counties to the slopes of the Pennines. Finally the victory rested with steam. The increased use of steam is closely associated with the mining industry, which did not attain very great importance until the Industrial Revolution. It is indeed remarkable how great an interaction there was between these
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developments ; one invention led to another, and an improvement in one industry reacted upon other industries, which in return reacted upon it.

Many of the earliest mines had been approached not by shafts but by adits, that is, descending tunnels cut into the sides of hills, and as these simpler sources of supply worked out, it became necessary to carry mines to a greater depth, and the water in the mines began to prove troublesome. Hence in 1698 Savery invented a means of raising water from mines by filling a cylinder with steam, condensing the steam in order to form a vacuum in the cylinder, and then raising the water from the bottom of the shaft into the cylinder by means of the pressure of the air. In 1705 Newcomen's engine; Newcomen improved upon Savery's method by fitting a piston into such an upright cylinder, and then raising it to the top of the cylinder by injected steam. This steam was then condensed by a jet of water playing upon the cylinder and a vacuum was in this way created under the piston, which then descended by reason of its weight and the air pressure above it. The upper portion of the piston was attached to one end of a pivoted beam, at the other end of which was the piston of a pump. The up-and-down movement of the piston of the cylinder gave a corresponding down-and-up movement to that of the pump, and thus the water could be pumped from the mine.

Succeeding builders made larger and more powerful engines, all of them at best but clumsy and costly contrivances, and Newcomen's engine

held the field for over fifty years and doubled the depth at which coal could be worked. Ultimately, in 1763 a young mathematical instrument maker named James Watt was given the model of Newcomen's engine to repair, and six years later took out a patent for a steam engine, which was a great improvement upon Newcomen's atmospheric engine ; and was in its final form the progenitor of the steam engine of to-day. It differed considerably from its predecessors. A separate condenser into which the steam could pass did away with the necessity of continually cooling the cylinder and thus wasting a considerable amount of heat. The piston was not only raised by steam introduced below it, but also lowered by the force of steam introduced above it. Watt's machine was therefore a real steam engine ; one of his greatest claims as an inventor is that he was the first man who successfully utilised the expansive force of steam. His earliest engines were employed for pumping, but their use was soon extended to other operations, especially after Watt had entered into partnership with a clever and enterprising Birmingham manufacturer named Matthew Boulton. In 1785 one of his engines was introduced into a Nottinghamshire cotton mill ; they were soon in general use in all branches of industry.

The making of engines and machines called for iron and steel, and changes rapidly took place also in these industries. As early as 1619 Dudley had attempted to use coke instead of wood-charcoal for smelting iron in the Black Country, though

without any very striking success commercially. A century later Darby was using coal and coke combined with a forced current or blast of air in his works at Coalbrookdale, and after 1756 with considerable success. The blast was obtained by means of water-power and in 1760 Smeaton invented a new blowing apparatus for Roebuck's works at Carron. It depended upon an improved Newcomen engine, which pumped water to turn a water-wheel by which the bellows were worked. In 1788 the steam engine was employed to produce the blast. After that progress in smelting was rapid, the annual output being doubled before the end of the century.

The resulting pig-iron contained a large amount of carbon and other impurities which made it very brittle. Several workers attempted puddling, to remedy this; the difficulty was finally overcome by Henry Cort, who invented the system of puddling, that is, of stirring the pig-iron in a furnace until the excess of impurities is burned out of it. Cort also introduced about the same time the principle of rolling out the iron into bars or plates by means of grooved rolls, instead of beating it into shape by hammers. Between 1740 and 1750 Benjamin Huntsman of Sheffield had also perfected an important process for casting steel. His secret was soon stolen from him and the new method became general in the cutlery area. These and other inventions caused a revolution in the iron industry and its associated trades,

engineering made rapid strides, and the Iron Age came into being.

The lack of means of communication was another great obstacle to industrial progress. The

Lack of raw materials of industry and the transport finished products had to be moved facilities. in many cases on pack-horses, as the roads were useless for heavy vehicular traffic. But any great development of industry involved an increasing division of labour, and good facilities for transport were therefore imperative. Observant travellers like Defoe, Wesley, and Young all comment upon the badness of the highways. Several Turnpike Acts, which permitted tolls to be taken to pay for improvements made, were passed in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the earliest in 1663 being very bitterly resented. After 1750 there was rapid improvement in the main roads, and as a result of this, the large towns were connected by coaches, and wagons replaced pack-horses for heavy goods. What was wanted was better road construction by competent engineers, and this came in 1802 when Telford turned from the construction of canals and bridges to the making of well-bottomed roads, and in 1815 when Macadam taught the art of road-draining and perfected the surface of the road.

Water carriage had been in use from time immemorial along the navigable rivers, and with

Brindley advancing trade there were many efforts and canal-making to improve this mode of transport by deepening the river beds. But it was often impossible to control the water supply of



TRAVELLING IN THE TIME OF GEORGE IV. A LONDON MAIL AND STAGE COACH.



the rivers, and times of flood injured or destroyed the good work previously done. Hence canals began to be constructed after the model of those in Holland and France. The first important English canal was due to the enterprise of the Duke of Bridgwater, who found the output of his coal-mine at Worsley greatly hampered by the difficulty of transporting the coal to Manchester, seven miles away. The engineer he employed was a millwright name James Brindley, a man of little education but of great shrewdness and practical ability. Although of such short length, this first canal was a remarkable piece of work because of the natural difficulties to be overcome, for it required a long tunnel and an aqueduct. Its successful opening in 1761 led to the employment of Brindley in many similar constructions, and called into being the English navigators, or navvies, as we now call them, sturdy labourers who dug away and removed the large masses of earth and stone which interfered with canal and railway building. In 1766 a canal connected Manchester with Liverpool by way of Chester ; in 1777 the Grand Junction Canal linked the Trent with the Mersey by way of the Cheshire salt district and the Potteries ; other canals linked the Forth with the Clyde ; the Humber with the Mersey, and both with the Severn at Bristol ; and London with Oxford and the Midland coal-field. Towards the close of the century there was quite a mania for speculation in canal construction, and much foolish work was done.

It was in some respects unfortunate that the  
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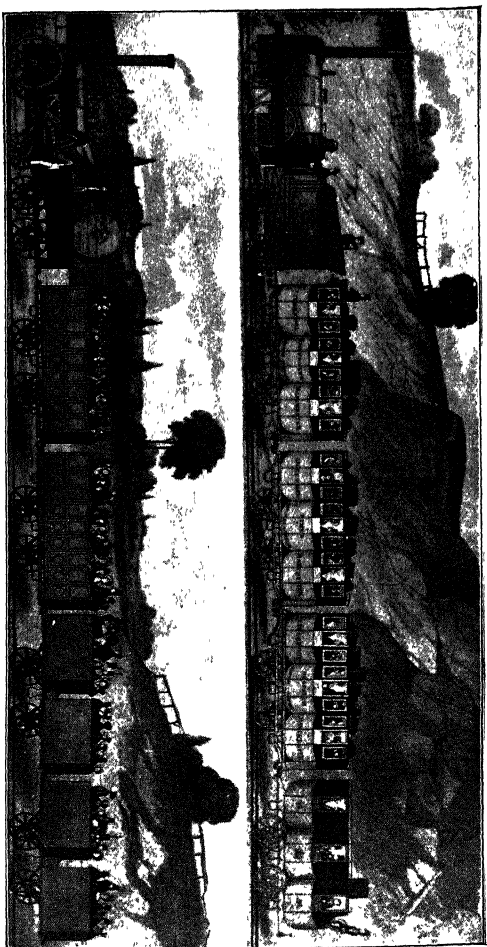


development of canals was stopped in the early nineteenth century by the invention of the loco-

The first motive and the spread of railways. locomotives. Watt himself had tried to adapt his steam engine as a locomotive, and others followed in his footsteps. The idea of a tramway or artificial roadway along which trucks could be drawn on rails was certainly as old as the Stuarts, wooden rails being used at first with horses or dogs to supply the power. The low pressure of steam in the pumping engines was a fatal obstacle to their use for locomotives, but in 1802 Trevethick introduced the use of high-pressure steam, and moving engines became possible. Other improvements followed. In 1813 Blackett built his famous "Puffing Billy" at Wylam, and in the next year George Stephenson made steam traction a success at Killingworth. Once George Stephenson had entered on the work rapid progress was made, not so much because he was a great inventor as because of his dogged perseverance in the face of difficulties. The Stockton and Darlington Railway was opened in 1825 with Stephenson as its engineer; Liverpool and Manchester were connected by railway in 1830, London and Birmingham in 1838.

Steam was also used for water transport in an endeavour to replace the horse traction of the

The first canals. Many experiments of this type steam boats. had been made in England and America in the eighteenth century; in 1790 and 1802 Symington used a steam tug on the Forth and Clyde Canal, and Fulton experimented on the Seine and Hudson Rivers between 1803 and 1810.



ON THE LIVERPOOL AND MANCHESTER RAILWAY, 1831.

The upper picture shows a train with first class carriages and the mails.

The lower picture shows a train of second and third class carriages.



The first successful steam boat in Europe was Bell's *Comet*, which began to run between Glasgow and Greenock in 1812. A service was established between Dublin and Holyhead in 1820, and an unremunerative voyage by steam to Calcutta was undertaken in 1827. The first steam boat reached Liverpool from America in 1825, and two vessels steamed from the British Isles to New York in 1838. Since that time there has been remarkable progress in all matters connected with ocean navigation.

## CHAPTER XXXVII.

### THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION.

#### II. PROGRESS AND RESULTS.

THE remarkable series of inventions and improvements described in the preceding chapter led to great developments in English trade and industry in the early years of the nineteenth century. These years were not themselves marked by many important inventions, but throughout them there was a steady improvement in the machines already introduced, and a continually increasing investment of the capital necessary for working them. The age of domestic industry passed away ; the new machines were much too expensive for cottagers to buy ; the new steam power could be employed most profitably on a large scale in buildings containing numbers of machines. The present system of factory industry was introduced, " old barns, cart-houses, out-buildings of all descriptions were repaired," says a writer of the period, " windows broke through the old blank walls, and all were fitted up for loom-shops ; new weavers' cottages with loom-shops arose in every direction."

The introduction of capital into manufacture created a new class of English manufacturers, who

brought to the work two indispensable requisites, namely, capital and the ability to organise both the production and the distribution of the finished article. These new "captains of industry" were recruited mainly from the merchants and the country yeomen. Modern production was now firmly established upon a capitalistic basis. Banking developed rapidly as the demand for capital increased; Bridgwater's canal from Liverpool to Manchester was made possible by an advance of £25,000 granted to the Duke by Child's, the London bankers; in 1750 there had been scarcely a dozen provincial banks, in 1793 there were more than four hundred.

Before the improvements in means of communication trade had been confined to a great extent to the markets of the provincial towns and the old country fairs; merchants had bought their goods at the weekly or bi-weekly markets from the local cloth-makers, and had carried them from fair to fair and from shop to shop, by means of droves of pack-horses; now improved communications and banking developments inaugurated our modern system of commercial intercourse.

There was also a revolution in the methods and relative importance of the various industries. The manufacture of cotton goods had never been a domestic industry; it had been strictly confined from the first to certain localities; and it was free from governmental interference. It therefore responded quickly to the new condition of

Rise of the  
capitalist  
manu-  
facturer.

Great  
increase  
in the  
cotton  
manufacture.

things, and the use of power-loom and steam engine increased the output tremendously. At first when spinning was outpacing weaving there was prosperity for spinners and weavers, but after the power-loom had come into general use there was a heavy fall in wages, and women and children were freely employed instead of men; in 1808 the rate of wages was only half what it had been eight years before. But the total output was very much greater, and it was claimed that cotton goods formed one-third of the value of the exports of 1806. In the fifteen years, 1788-1803, the cotton manufacture trebled itself as a result of the cheapening of the cost of production. This cheapening was due partly to labour-saving contrivances, and partly to a reduction in the price of raw cotton owing to its wider growth. In 1775 the imported raw cotton weighed four million, in 1785 eighteen million, and in 1815 nearly a hundred million pounds. The material produced was of finer and better quality than had previously been the case. The associated trade of calico printing also developed rapidly. It had been moved from London to Lancashire and south-west Scotland about the middle of the eighteenth century. Bell's new printing process originated at Glasgow; one of the most important of the Lancashire calico printers was the grandfather of Sir Robert Peel.

The widespread domestic woollen industry responded less slowly to the changes. It felt the influence of the new machines chiefly at second hand, and its workers, especially the wool-combers, fought hard against the interference of machinery

with their operations. Interference, however, was bound to come. Benjamin Gott, a Leeds manufacturer, adapted the cotton inventions to the woollen trade about the close of the century, and improvements followed in all the various branches of the woollen manufacture. The eastern counties naturally suffered from their lack of coal, but the output of cloth in the West Riding increased tenfold between 1742 and 1815; and exported woollens rose in value from £3,358,000 in 1742 to £9,387,000 in 1816.

Machinery for preparing and spinning flax led the way to the introduction of machinery into all parts of the linen industry, and the bleaching period was reduced from six months to two days by the use of chlorine, a newly-discovered chemical element which Tennant of Glasgow applied to this purpose in 1800. Framework knitting was improved by an apparatus for knitting; knitting stockings with ribs patented by Jedidiah Strutt, 1758, and by the use of cotton in the looms after 1730. Before the close of the century there was a big demand for cotton stockings in the export trade. There was much trouble with the workers during the early part of the nineteenth century, partly owing to the high rents charged by owners for the use of the machines, partly to foolish competition and reckless speculation, and in the Luddite riots many machines were destroyed. Lace-making was revolutionised by Heathcoat's machine in



1803, which embodied the efforts of several predecessors ; it had been in its first stages a typical peasant industry, now it became a part of the factory system. Silk owed its introduction especially to alien immigrants, and in the manufacture of silk goods. its development to the fostering care of the Government. It now began to develop in the towns of Cheshire and North Staffordshire, and in Derby and Coventry ; while silk was also worked at Paisley, and at Dublin, where poplins, a material with a silk warp and a worsted weft, were made.

Pottery had been one of the most backward of English industries, and no trade owed more to the revolution in methods which came in the eighteenth century. One of the important developments in the making of pottery. pioneers in this development was Astbury, who first used flint for making a glaze, and learned much from two German brothers of Nuremberg who worked with him in Burslem. Another important development was the use of kaolin or china clay in the making of porcelain. The first kaolin used came from America, but Cookworthy showed in 1753 that Cornwall and Devon possessed great stores of this material. Factories were started at Stoke, Derby, Bow, Chelsea, Worcester, Coalport, and elsewhere. The greatest of English potters was Josiah Wedgwood of Etruria (1730-1795), who brought to the work organising ability of a very high order, and a perfect genius for the production of pottery of excellent material combined with artistic appearance. After 1773 the sculptor Flaxman was

associated with him as designer, and Wedgwood ware became, and still remains, a household word for excellence of design and quality. The development of the potteries owed something to the new canal system. The building of the Grand Junction Canal, which linked this area with the Mersey, was supported financially by the master-potters, and Wedgwood himself cut the first sod. The canal reduced the cost of carriage of materials for manufacture and finished earthenware to one-fourth of what it had been previously, and offered at the same time a much safer mode of carriage for these brittle goods.

The smelting of iron by means of coke and coal and the use of steam made mining much more important, and also aided in the work  
Changes in coal-mining. by clearing the mines of water, by boring new shafts, and by raising the hewn coal from the pits. With the increased demand for coal, shafts had to be made deeper, and the dangers associated with mining increased. The explosions from fire-damp caused attention to be paid to ventilation; the danger of naked lights led finally to the invention of the Davy lamp in 1815. Working on a large scale now commenced on all the coal-fields, whereas a century earlier the only coal-fields extensively worked were those of the Tyneside, where the sea afforded an easy export of the coal to London. Now that coal was important for manufactures as well as for house fuel, larger quantities were required, for the new industries naturally developed in the coal areas, and the coal output was trebled by the end

of the century. In 1800 more than ten million tons were raised.

One of the most important uses of coal was in the iron industry, which now became associated

The Iron Age. with those areas which produced both coal and iron ore. As we have seen, iron-smelting had been declining during the first half of the century, and pig-iron was being imported ; but in 1815 the export of iron reached 91,000 tons. In 1765 Anthony Bacon obtained a ninety-nine years' lease of the mineral rights in the Merthyr Tydvil area, and laid the foundations of the great South Wales iron industry ; the Darbys at Coalbrookdale, and Roebuck at Carron, improved their works considerably ; and great developments also took place in South Yorkshire and in the Black Country of South Staffordshire.

Iron began to be used for almost all ordinary purposes. Iron pots and pans had been cast at Coalbrookdale as early as 1709, and John Wilkinson of Bersham, one of the first of the great British ironmasters, added many further improvements. He and Darby were jointly interested in the first iron bridge which was built over the Severn at Broseley and opened in 1779 ; Rennie was responsible for the construction of an iron bridge over the Thames at Southwark in 1815. Iron was also employed in the construction of ships, the first iron vessel being launched in 1790. One difficulty in the use of iron articles was the lack of accuracy in their construction. Watt found it difficult at first to get the cylinders of his new engines bored correctly. This led to improve-

ments in engineering. Bramah invented the hydraulic press ; Maudsley, the most famous of all these early engineers, produced the slide rest for holding tools firmly to the lathe ; Improve-  
ments in engineering. Whitworth secured uniformity in the pitch of screws ; Nasmyth perfected the steam-hammer, which did away with much heavy manual labour. Most important of all these engineering triumphs was the standardisation of the various parts of a machine, that is, the making of each separate part true to a standard pattern, so that all the copies of each part of a machine should be exactly alike. If a part of a machine was broken before this change was made, a new part had always to be specially constructed to replace it, and while this part was being made the machine was at a standstill ; after the parts were made to a standard pattern it was possible to order, and be supplied with, a new part which could be inserted in the machine without delay. Any reader who is a cyclist or an automobilist will readily appreciate the great value of this change.

Other trades also benefited by the new developments. The increase in exports stimulated the shipbuilding and shipping trades. The tonnage of the shipping of the United Kingdom increased by over 60 per cent. between 1793 and 1813. The new factories and the new towns with their teeming population of artisans furnished employment to large numbers of bricklayers, carpenters, and other members of the building trades ; and to the makers of building materials.

The effect of these changes and developments soon became visible upon the face of the country.

It was much easier to take the raw material to the areas of cheap power production than *vice versa*, and this led to a rapid growth of population in what had formerly been the backward areas north of the Trent. Both slopes of the Pennines were in touch with important coal-fields and had an ample supply of water. The dampness of the Lancashire climate was an additional advantage to cotton-spinners, and this area became the seat of the cotton industry. The West Riding and the west of England could both count upon local coal supplies and thus retained the woollen industry, which was already leaving the eastern counties because they lacked the necessary fall of water for the use of water-power, and were devoid of coal. Iron and hardware developed on the Northumberland, South Yorkshire, South Staffordshire, and South Wales coal and iron fields. Silk went to Cheshire, and framework knitting to the Midlands, where subdivision of labour gave silk hosiery to Derby and woollen hosiery to Leicester. The coal-fields of Scotland also became busy hives of industry.

There was not only a great transference of labour to fresh areas of the country, but also a remarkable increase in the total population of the country. It is not easy to say exactly how great this increase was, for no census was taken in these days. The population of England in 1760 was probably less

New  
manu-  
facturing  
areas  
formed.

Increase  
in  
population.

than 7,000,000, in 1821 it had risen to just over 12,000,000. The rate of increase of population in the first half of the eighteenth century was probably never more than 18 per cent., but in the second half the rate of increase was 57 per cent. The fastest rate of increase was between 1801 and 1811, when the population increased at the rate of  $21\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. This increase took place chiefly in the larger towns; the rural population, which in 1811 had been 35 per cent. of the whole population of the country, sank by 1831 to 28 per cent.

Growth  
of new  
towns. Many towns developed with startling rapidity, especially those like Sheffield, Birmingham, Manchester, and Leeds, which had never been incorporated and therefore hampered by gild restrictions. While the total population of the country as a whole rose about 30 per cent. between 1801 and 1821, and the population of London 40 per cent., the population of Liverpool, Manchester, Glasgow, and Bradford actually increased by 75 per cent.

The Industrial Revolution was not effected without many serious results, which it will be our duty to consider in succeeding chapters.

Results  
of the  
Industrial  
Revolution. The new manufacturers with their rapidly-increasing wealth soon obtained a great deal of influence in politics and in society; influence which had previously belonged almost entirely to the country gentry and landed interest. The mass of the industrial population became wage-earners only, without that interest in their work which the old gild workers, who owned the product of their labour, had had. They

suffered also in many ways, especially in the earlier days of the change, for, although the new methods led to greatly-increased wealth, they did not always lead to greater comfort and happiness. The old personal relations of employer and employed, which in earlier days had kept master and worker on fairly friendly terms, now disappeared in many cases. Production on a large scale for distant markets led to periods of unemployment, and at times to lessened wages. The people were clustered together in large and smoky towns where they could not add anything to their incomes by work in agriculture, while the lack of sanitation resulted in much disease. It was not until the second half of the nineteenth century that a reaction against these evils led to better conditions of life and of labour for many of our working population.

## CHAPTER XXXVIII.

### THE AGRARIAN REVOLUTION.

WE have seen that much was done during the eighteenth century to develop English agriculture.

Improvements in agriculture. Corn-growing was fostered by a bounty upon export, new crops and better varieties of existing ones were introduced by pioneers like Townshend and Coke ; the efforts of Bakewell, Collings, and others had resulted in great improvements in cattle and sheep. The cultivation of root crops and artificial grasses proved a valuable addition to corn-growing and made the old-fashioned recurring fallow of every third year quite unnecessary. With these crops the land could carry more live stock, and the farmer was able to keep a lot of it throughout the winter. From this in turn came additional manure, with the betterment of the land and an increased yield per acre.

The result of these improvements was that rapid progress was made, especially in the second half of the century. The comparative and their effects. isolation of England as a result of war made it very important that home markets should be able to supply the needs of the increasing population, and additional land came under tillage. This increased demand was further accelerated



by the Industrial Revolution and the growth of manufacturing towns. Their population had to be fed, and farming for subsistence only was changed to farming which should provide food for these industrial areas.

At the same time to put money into land became a popular form of investment. If land carried the

Land-  
ownership  
and social  
distinction.

main burden of the country's taxation it gave to its holders a splendid recompense in the form of social distinction. "After the Revolution," writes Lecky in his *History of the Eighteenth Century*, "the landed gentry were practically supreme. Not only national but local administration was entirely in their hands, and, as a natural consequence, land, being the foundation of social and political influence, was eagerly sought after. Merchants could only obtain political power by becoming landowners." Farming became the reigning taste of the day. George III. delighted in the title of Farmer George, there was scarcely a nobleman without a farm, and most of the country gentlemen were interested in agriculture. Duties on the import of foreign corn, bounties on the export of English, and the prohibition of the export of wool safeguarded the agriculturist. There was every inducement to the investment of capital in land.

The open-field system, however, still remained, with all its troubles and difficulties, as the farming system of more than three-fifths of the cultivated portion of England. Before real progress could be made in these areas enclosure was absolutely

necessary. It was in the counties with the greatest percentage of enclosed land that the best methods and results were to be seen. These were chiefly in the eastern and in parts of the midland counties. Kent was one of the best and most fertile portions of the country ; Norfolk was thriving under its four-fold rotation of turnips, barley, clover and rye grass, wheat ; Essex was also in the van of progress. Elsewhere the old traditional practices and local prejudices of the open-field system obstinately held sway. Many of the new crops were still unknown to farmers in 1750 ; even where they had been introduced the work was often so badly done as to leave the land unfitted for another crop. Arthur Young, in his southern tour of 1772, saw crops in the common fields that were miserable and absolutely beneath contempt. Enclosed land was producing 26 bushels per acre, open-field land only 18. An Act of Parliament in 1773 attempted to improve the old system by ordering that the arable fields in open-field areas should be fenced off and improved in the interests of better cultivation and newer methods. But this did not suffice. A more drastic change was necessary in the interests of progress. Hence there came a rapid increase of enclosure, which differed from the Tudor enclosures in being enclosure for tillage rather than for sheep-farming ; though in many cases it resulted in the laying down of pasture where corn had been grown. This rapid change forms what has rightly been termed an agrarian revolution,

No progress  
in many  
parts of  
England,

enclosure  
therefore  
still  
necessary.

the main results of which were the destruction of the common-field system almost everywhere and a general replacement of small farms by large ones. The enclosures made were of two kinds, one, the enclosure of land already under cultivation but worked by collective ownership on the old open-field system ; the other, the enclosure of common and waste lands with the object of bringing them under cultivation. There was little opposition to the enclosure of the waste, but many people objected strongly to the enclosing of the common arable lands worked under the older method of open-field farming.

There were many ways by which enclosure could be effected. Common agreement among the owners would sometimes produce the desired result. In many cases one large owner, such as the lord of the manor, bought out all the rights of the smaller holders. A great proportion of the lands were enclosed by Acts of Parliament often introduced as Private Bills. To obtain an Act witnesses had to swear that the lands in their present condition were not worth occupying, and when the Act had passed, commissioners were appointed to value all the property and all the common rights and share them out among the inhabitants. From the reign of Anne to the death of George II. there were 244 Acts enclosing 338,177 acres. Between 1795 and 1820 there were nearly 2000 Enclosure Acts passed. In 1801 a Bill was passed to cheapen and facilitate parliamentary enclosures, but the expense of obtaining

Enclosures  
in the  
eighteenth  
century ;

an Enclosure Act was so great (it has been estimated at over £1000) that much land was enclosed without the intervention of parliament.

Many benefits followed from enclosure. It led to the spread of new methods and ideas, and to the establishment of farmers' clubs, <sup>their</sup> effect upon agricultural shows, ploughing contests, agriculture. and so on. The Bath and West of England Agricultural Society was founded in 1777, the Smithfield Club in 1798, the Board of Agriculture, with Arthur Young as its first Secretary, in the same year. Large farms and long leases now became usual. Eden, in his *State of the Poor*, notices that in 1795 a Dorsetshire village contained only two farms which twenty years before had had thirty, and in another village was now one farm where persons still living could remember when there were fourteen farms bringing up in a respectable way fourteen families. But large farms and long

<sup>Gains to the landlords;</sup> leases meant that more money could be put into improvements, better implements could be bought, better stock introduced, better labour hired. With a larger capital at his command the farmer was able to buy and sell to better advantage, and was not so likely to be compelled to sell in a forced market to meet immediate needs such as rent and rates, as the smaller farmer was often forced to do. As a result of this consolidation of estates, and the consequent improvements effected, rents rose considerably. Arthur Young found that in many cases in Lincolnshire the rents were on an average nearly doubled.

All this meant gain to the landowner, but on the other hand many people suffered very serious hardships. The proprietors of the largest estates generally had matters very much in their own hands, for the legal expenses and the cost of fencing were great, and the smaller holders were often unable to meet these charges. In 1814 the enclosure of three farms amounting to 570 acres, including the cost of fencing and buying out the rights of other tenants, amounted to nearly £4000. The poorer farmers suffered also from a feeling of insecurity during the period of change, and from their lack of capital to meet the new conditions. In many cases men undertook farms with insufficient capital and suffered in consequence. All this tended in the direction of the extinction of the yeoman farmer and the peasant proprietor. Macaulay estimates that there were as many as 160,000 freeholders in England at the close of the seventeenth century; less than a hundred and fifty years later they had practically disappeared. Many of these freeholders were descendants of the old yeomanry, possessing estates worth some £200 to £300 a year and living a country farmer's life on their own property. Some of the peasant proprietors and common-field farmers worked harder than the ordinary day labourer and had already begun to lose ground through the decay of domestic industries which accompanied the introduction of the factory system. To many of these the loss of common rights of grazing and the

enclosure of wastes meant less opportunities of earning a living at a time when prices were beginning to be liable to very severe and sudden changes, and the poor rate was steadily increasing. Many of the best of the freeholders went into the towns and joined in the new industrial enterprises. The grandfather of Sir Robert Peel, Prime Minister of England from 1841 to 1846, was a yeoman farmer who took to cotton manufacturing, but many of the poorer freeholders and common-field farmers were forced to emigrate or to join the ranks of the farm labourers.

The effect of enclosure, too, upon these labourers was disastrous. In 1750 a majority of the popula-

tion was still engaged in agriculture,  
injury to the labourer. and during the first half of the century there had been a gradual improvement

in the condition of life of the labourers ; a rise in money wages at a time of falling prices had meant to them an increase in real as well as in nominal wages—that is, their wages had not only increased in amount, but the lower prices of articles were enabling them to obtain more goods for the same money than they had been able to buy previously. The development of manufactures, too, had reacted favourably on their wages in some districts, owing to the increased demand for men to work in the factories, and in these districts there were also opportunities for additional earnings by spinning and other home industries. But in other areas the use of the common lands and wastes had been of the greatest importance to the labourer ; and as long as there had been plenty of small farms

the best of them had had opportunities of rising to the grade of farmer. Now, this was changed, and they became landless wage-earners who had often suffered wrong in the process of enclosure. There is much evidence of the hard legal spirit in which their claims were considered. Young, who was an enthusiastic supporter of enclosure, confesses that in thirty-seven enclosed parishes of which he had full details there were only twelve in which the labourers were not injured. "By nineteen acts out of twenty," he writes, "the poor are injured, in some cases grossly injured." Had the process of enclosure been more gradual the labourers would probably have been able to build up small properties for themselves on which they could have kept one or two cows and have grown food for their own consumption. It is interesting to notice that Sir John Sinclair, the first President of the Board of Agriculture, desired three acres and a cow for every industrious cottager.

But the methods adopted left these ideals unrealised. The villages lost that grading of society which the existence of freeholders of larger or smaller properties had given them, and the whole agricultural system crystallised into the threefold grading of landlord, tenant-farmer, and farm labourer with which we are familiar to-day. And with it there came also a great increase in the cost of the poor law and an intensification of that movement from the land by emigration abroad or migration to the industrial towns at home which is still a feature of English country life.

## CHAPTER XXXIX

### THE PROBLEM OF POVERTY.

THE history of the English poor law, the story of the distribution and administration of public assistance to those unfortunate beings who are for various reasons unable or unwilling to provide for themselves, is peculiar and in many ways unique in our history. The problem of poverty is one to which a large amount of attention has been devoted. Many remedies have been suggested, and some of them have been made part of the law of the land. But it has been a feature of our English poor-law administration that, after the troubles arising from destitution in one era have been lessened by new and stringent regulations, these troubles have been quickly forgotten, and there has followed a period of reaction, in which harshness has been denounced, and pity has caused relaxation of the regulations and has paved the way for possible abuse. Moreover, as the administration has usually been entrusted to local authorities, and wide powers have been granted to them, it has generally been possible, often in the very face of Acts of Parliament, to make these alterations in the poor-law regulations.

During the seventeenth century the Tudor poor-



law system worked very well ; though from the first it had in it the possibility of certain dangers which might one day become acute. The overseers and other administrators were never really equal to their task, and some of the problems with which they had to deal were by no means easy ones to face. The Act of Settlement, 1662, of which we have already spoken, made transfers of population from areas of decaying to areas of expanding industry well-nigh impossible, at a time when changes in the industrial areas should have been accompanied by such movements. Yet in spite of these difficulties the Act of 1601 was administered fairly well, and was in large measure successful ; it lasted for two centuries, and only failed when exposed to abnormal circumstances and foolish administration. For the Industrial Revolution gave rise to a series of new and difficult problems with which Tudor legislation had never been intended to cope, and these problems resulted in a breakdown of the existing poor-law system. Unfortunately, instead of a general and statesman-like attempt being made to meet this new situation, mere tinkering was resorted to. Instead of a national scheme of poor-law relief, local Acts were passed which allowed of different methods of relief in different localities. When alterations were made by parliament they were generally of a permissive character—that is, their adoption and enforcement were left to the discretion of the local authorities, though many of the local administrators were interested in retaining

Breakdown  
of the Tudor  
system of  
relief.

Failure of  
attempts  
at reform.

the abuses of the older system. Hence it came about that heavy poor rates and other charges for the poor endangered the nation's finances, and the careless and wholesale granting of poor relief lowered its moral standard.

Nor when the money had been collected, was it always devoted to the purposes for which it was intended. Even before the close of the seventeenth century there was evidence in many parts of the country of waste and embezzlement of funds. Hence an Act of 1691 made it compulsory that all accounts should be produced at the annual vestry meeting ; that at this meeting a new list should be made of those who might claim relief during the ensuing year ; and that no one who was not upon this list should receive relief except by the authority of a justice of the peace or the bench of magistrates at Quarter Sessions. The intention of the framers of this Act was to use the justices as a check upon maladministration by making them a court of appeal. But it also gave to them the power of ordering relief to any one they pleased, without any reference to the parish authorities directly concerned, and without any appeal from their decision. . The result was that much relief was lavishly and foolishly given by them, and the poor rate rose to an alarming extent.

Meanwhile in certain districts capable administrators were working to prevent abuse, and the Institution of Tudor policy of setting the poor on work workhouses. was being used by them as a test of real destitution. Workhouses were erected, and

no poor person who refused to be lodged and to work in one of them was allowed to receive relief. The first of these workhouses was built at Bristol in 1697, and other places followed Bristol's example, though until 1722 a special Act of Parliament was required for every workhouse built. After that date, as this method of relief seemed a good one, a general Act permitted the erection of these workhouses, either by separate parishes or by *unions* of several adjacent parishes. The result of this workhouse system was a reduction in the poor rate from £819,000 in 1698 to about £689,000 in 1750.

But the workhouse system also soon deteriorated, while the evil remained in the shape of a number of paupers and criminals who were a constant charge upon the community. After 1760, too, the problem was intensified in several ways. In many years bad seasons were followed by poor harvests, and scarcity of food was followed by a rise in prices. The increase of enclosures deprived many agricultural labourers of a means of supplementing their wages. These wages were themselves a relic of the older days of wage assessments, and though the assessments had now died out, the wages they had fixed had a tendency to remain as the standard, in spite of rising prices and fewer opportunities of earning money. The new system of manufacture now being introduced also led to greater fluctuations of trade, and so to greater unemployment.

As the Elizabethan system broke down under the stress of these difficulties other methods were devised. In 1782, a permissive Act, known

generally from its author's name as Gilbert's Act, instituted Boards of Guardians who were given control over the overseers. The Act, 1782. Act also permitted adjacent parishes to associate in Unions for purposes of poor relief and for the erection of a common workhouse. The guardians were not permitted to send any but the impotent to the workhouse. They were expected to find work for all their able-bodied paupers, and the work was to be suitable to the paupers' capacity and near their places of residence. Justices of the peace were also given extended powers of relief to paupers at home. The result was that the poor rate, reduced in 1750, as we have seen, by the workhouse test, to £689,000, now rose to over £1,500,000 in 1776 and to about £2,000,000 between 1783 and 1785.

In 1795 another Act forbade the removal, under the Act of Settlement, of any poor person from a parish until that person actually became chargeable, and not then if illness made travelling dangerous. This, however, produced little result, partly because a century and a half of fixed settlement had caused the poor to lose any desire to move from place to place; partly because other Acts were making them willing to become paupers. Thus, in 1795 the workhouse test of 1722 was abolished, and unwillingness to enter the workhouse was no longer recognised as a sufficient cause for refusing relief. More fatal still was a decision of the justices of the peace for Berkshire. They met at Speenhamland in 1795 to consider the situation. It has been pointed out that by

the Acts of 1691 and 1782 these justices constituted a court of relief from which there was no appeal, and on this memorable occasion they decided that the state of the poor was such as to render further assistance necessary, and that it was <sup>1795;</sup> unwise to revive the older system of regulation of wages to accomplish this. They therefore decided to give to all persons whose wages fell below a certain level, a grant from the relief fund to bring the wages up to the necessary amount. A scale of relief was prepared and was made to depend upon the price of bread. Thus, when bread was a shilling a gallon, a single man was to have three shillings and sixpence, husband and wife four and sixpence, and an additional one and sixpence was granted for every child under seven years of age. If the price of bread rose, the scale of relief was to increase correspondingly. It is obvious that such a principle put a premium upon idleness. It abolished any test of incapacity ; it was in great measure an advantage to the employer, who could now count upon insufficient wages being supplemented from the rates. All the able-bodied working population of England was in danger of being swept into the vortex of pauperism with a total loss of self-respect and self-effort.

This "Speenhamland Act of Parliament," as it came to be called, was adopted with disastrous results in many counties, especially in the south of England. It is only fair to add that in this time of industrial change, with its difficulties increased by the war

with France, it was not easy to deal soberly and judiciously with the poor. In the stress of national affairs at this time it seemed essential to many administrators that the poor should be kept contented at almost any cost. But the employment of this special method made the situation a desperate one, and brought the nation to the verge of bankruptcy. In 1803 the rate was more than £4,250,000, and in 1817 it was actually £7,870,801 in a population of only about eleven million people. At Cholesbury in Buckinghamshire the rate rose until it was impossible to work the land at a profit, and it was offered to the poor as a free gift. But they declined the offer, for it was more to their advantage to have it worked for them on the existing system, so that they might live as paupers on the proceeds. After the peace of 1815 the danger of this method of relief was recognised, and Commissions of Enquiry, of the House of Commons called 1833; attention to many of the worst evils of the system and suggested remedies; but little was done until in 1833 a Commission of Enquiry was instituted to collect evidence upon the working of the Poor Laws and report to parliament.

This Commission, which consisted of able men well qualified for the task imposed upon them, produced an historic Report, which its historic pointed out the evils of the existing Report. system and suggested measures of reform. The Report showed how the labourers depended for their living upon relief; how many employers took care to profit by the system; and

how publicans, shopkeepers, and owners of cottage property managed to get liberal and certain payments from paupers by themselves becoming local poor-law administrators. Overseers and vestries alike had proved incapable through ignorance or self-interest or carelessness. Outdoor relief was granted promiscuously, and in many cases with only a pretence of work in return. Sometimes the recipients were paid a small amount and were expected in return to spend so many hours per day waiting at a fixed spot for the chance of employment ; sometimes they were made into " roundsmen " and their labour sold to the highest bidder, while the parish paid the difference between the wage offered by the bidder and the justices' scale ; sometimes each landlord agreed to employ a number of them at a fixed rate or else pay the amount of their wages to the overseer, the so-called " labour rate."

As to workhouses, the Report declared that a workhouse had become " a large almshouse in which the young are trained in idleness, ignorance, and vice ; the able-bodied maintained in sluggish, sensual idleness ; the aged and more respectable exposed to all the misery that is incident to dwelling in such a society, without government or classification ; and the whole body of inmates subsisting on food far exceeding both in kind and amount, not merely the diet of the independent labourer but that of the majority of persons who contributed to their support." Thus, in many cases, the smaller householders, on whom a portion of the rate fell, were earning less and working harder than

the paupers they were being compelled to maintain in idleness. Many other evils were also associated with poor-law administration : the overseers and guardians were dishonest ; hard-working and independent labourers who tried to avoid parish relief were displaced from their employment by pauper "roundsmen" ; there was a destruction of family ties, sons and daughters refusing to support their aged parents or to attend to their wants without help from the rates ; the employers lost through the bad work and dishonesty of those they employed.

The Report formed the basis of an important Poor Law Amendment Act which passed its

Poor Law Amendment Act, 1834 ; second reading in 1834 by 299 votes to 20. It was decided that in giving relief the position of the person relieved should be made a less desirable one than that of the lowest class of labourer living without relief, and the workhouse test was reinstituted to effect this. Outdoor relief to the able-bodied was done away with except in one or two matters such as medical attendance. Only the aged and the impotent were to be exempt from this principle. Vagrants were to be relieved in such a way as was acceptable only to the destitute, and work and discipline were always to be associated with any relief they obtained. It was recognised that the existing poor-law authorities had failed in their work, and a new system of administration was adopted, at first for five years, to guide the working of the new Act. The country was divided into administrative districts, which were either groups or



unions of smaller parishes, or separate parishes in the towns and well-populated country areas. These divisions were to be administered by popularly-elected and unpaid representatives forming Boards of Guardians under the supervision of the Commissioners.

The measure was in many ways a great success. Almost immediately a large proportion of the able-

its bodied paupers were won back to immediate habits of thrift and independence. A success; few persons who had been benefiting by the evils of the older system denounced the new measure, and there was also some opposition from others who complained that the change was too sudden, and that the new conditions under which relief was to be given would bear hard upon many of the unfortunate and deserving poor. The strongest opposition came from the working classes of the north of England. Here the breakdown of the poor-law system had not been nearly so pronounced as in the south, and the drastic alterations in the system were therefore much resented. This opposition was sufficiently strong

to cause some alterations to be made. changes in the Act. At first the Commissioners were independent of parliament, but after the reform had been established it was thought desirable to subject them to parliamentary control, and in 1847 they were replaced by a Poor Law Board whose President was to be a member of the Government. In 1871 the desire to associate poor-law administration with the rest of English local government caused the Board to become

merged in the newly-formed Local Government Board, whose President was made responsible to parliament for poor-law administration.

Once the knowledge of the evils of the period preceding 1834 had passed away there were considerable relaxations in the enforcement of the Act. The Commissioners had hoped to see their suggestions result in an immediate lessening of the amount of outdoor relief, and in its ultimate extinction. But this has never been realised. The principle upon which they wished to proceed was that of making willingness to enter a work-house the test of relief. Two means of avoiding this remained : out relief could still be granted to the aged, that is, to persons over sixty years of age ; and, by a subsequent alteration in the Act, able-bodied persons who for special reasons were unable to find work, might at the discretion of the guardians be granted outdoor relief. These means were constantly used, and in spite of changes in methods of relief the problem remained, and still remains, the most difficult of all modern English social problems. At present the number of male paupers in the town areas is one of the most serious features of the situation, while the rate of decrease of pauperism is not so rapid as it formerly was, and, on the other hand, the cost of relief has been increasing considerably in recent years.

The difficulties of the situation caused the appointment in 1905 of another Commission on the Poor Laws, which produced in 1909 significant Reports representing the opinions of two sections

of its members. The Reports are in every way notable documents, and the information obtained by the Commission is very valuable. The modern causes of pauperisation are stated by the Commissioners to be drunkenness ; illness, especially consumption ; old age associated with low earning power, thriftlessness, and disease ; the (a) causes lack of special attention to the feeble-of poverty ; minded ; harmful voluntary charity ; early and improvident marriage ; casual labour ; the work of boys in blind-alley occupations, that is, in work which offers fairly good wages for a few years but leaves a boy an unskilled casual labourer at an age when he is too old to learn a trade ; modern industrial developments which make ever-increasing demands upon the worker and compel him to stop work at an earlier age ; and mal-administration of the poor law itself. The Reports recognise the gravity of the question of unemployment under modern trade conditions, the fact that it is now the densely-populated town areas and not, as in 1834, the country districts that are the centres of able-bodied paupers ; the error of placing children in ordinary workhouses ; the fact that to some persons the workhouse has ceased to be a deterrent ; the defects of out relief as being often inadequate, lacking in supervision, and supporting dirt, disease, and even crime.

They recommend the removal of children from workhouses to separate institutions consisting of blocks of cottage homes with school, etc., attached ; or to scattered homes whence they can attend the

Report of  
Commission  
on the  
Poor Laws,  
1905-1909 :

public elementary schools, or to ordinary artisans' dwellings in which they can be boarded out. In the case of adults they would provide separate institutions for the aged poor, which might take the form of large institutions whose inmates could have much greater privileges than those of the workhouse system, or of cottage homes after the fashion of almshouses. Out relief would only be granted to persons of good habits of life and decent home surroundings. Unemployment and casual labour would be lessened by the use of Labour Exchanges; by State Insurance to which the workers themselves would contribute; by raising the age at which children could leave school, and by their supervision for some years after leaving; and by the detention of the habitual vagrant in a labour colony where he would be compelled to work. Some of these methods are now being employed.

It is suggested that much better results would be obtained if all forms of relief were brought under the control of a single authority, so as to prevent overlapping; and it is further suggested that this new authority should control a larger area than is usually the case at present. The good work being done by various voluntary charitable agencies is recognised, and it is pointed out that much good would result from associating them with the relief given by the Government. It would be another means of preventing overlapping, and at the same time such societies would have greater freedom

to consider new methods and experiment in them than can be the case in national administration, for this naturally tends to become uniform.

The ultimate aim of all new methods must be the extinction of this evil of pauperism. Prevention is better than cure. Hence in

Legislation  
for the  
workers.

recent years there has been much legislation to prevent pauperism by attacking the causes of it. Thus certain Acts of Parliament encourage local authorities to find work for unemployed persons in times of trade depression. Since 1896 Workmen's Compensation Acts have attempted to provide for the worker injured in the pursuit of his employment, or for his dependants in case of his death. In 1909 Labour Exchanges were opened to help the unemployed to find new situations. The National Insurance Act, 1911, provides insurance against sickness, and also against unemployment in certain trades, as well as the treatment of insured persons suffering from tuberculosis in sanatoria and other institutions. Old Age Pensions make provision for the aged. There is also a return to the principle of wage assessment by the establishment of Boards which have the power of fixing a minimum wage for workers in certain occupations. Nor are the children

The care  
of the  
children.

neglected, for the hope of better things in the future lies mainly with them. Efforts are being put forth to make the rising generation cleaner and healthier, and therefore more efficient, than their parents. All children attending public elementary schools are now medically inspected, and in certain cases their

ailments are attended to ; those who are mentally defective are provided with an education specially suited to their needs ; provision is made for feeding those who are neglected at home. It may be that in the near future the need of a poor law will disappear from the land.

## CHAPTER XI.

### THE FACTORY SYSTEM.

#### LAISSEZ-FAIRE *VERSUS* STATE INTERFERENCE.

THE rapid development of the factory system came at a time of remarkable changes in economic doctrines. As we have already seen,

Demand  
for  
greater  
freedom  
characteristic  
of the  
eighteenth  
century.

a characteristic feature of the industrial and commercial development of England up to the eighteenth century had been the careful regulation and control of trade and manufactures, first of all by the gild, and then by the Government. In the eighteenth century there was a reaction from this system of control and regulation, in favour of freedom from all such restraints. We must guard against supposing that this movement was confined solely to industrial enterprise. It was only one aspect of a general movement towards freedom which is visible in the second half of the century. The whole spirit of the time was one of revolt against authority. It was claimed that men had a right to be free to do as they pleased so far as such freedom was practicable. The French Revolution with its cry of liberty, equality, and fraternity is

really one of many examples of this European revolt against interference.

The movement was felt in England in many ways. We are now concerned with its influence in the sphere of industry. Here the new doctrines were clearly expressed by a professor of Glasgow University named Adam Smith in a book, *The Wealth of Nations*, which was published about seven years after Arkwright and Watt had patented their great inventions. In this work Smith argued for industrial freedom in the interests of the workers themselves. He was much impressed by the evils of the Laws of Settlement. "The patrimony of a poor man," he wrote, "lies in the strength and dexterity of his hands, and to hinder him from employing this strength and dexterity in what manner he thinks proper, without injury to his neighbour, is a plain violation of this most sacred property. It is a manifest encroachment upon the just liberty both of the workman and of those who might be disposed to employ him." He insisted always upon the very great importance of personal liberty, and believed that the welfare of all was best promoted by leaving each individual free to pursue his own interests; just as when he wrote about the accumulation of wealth, he treated rather of the increase of the wealth of individual persons in the State than of the increase of the wealth of the State itself, believing that what was to the advantage of the individuals composing the State must be also to the good of the State. This was a different standpoint from that of the mer-



cantilists who had always placed the interest of the national power, rather than that of the individual, in the forefront of the argument.

The book was well written, and its simple style carried conviction with it to the reader. The attacks upon the existing errors and abuses of the Mercantile policy were strong, and they exercised a great influence upon economists and statesmen, among whom William Pitt was a careful reader of the book. A new ideal of non-interference arose, which, if carried out fully, would have meant the freedom of society from the interference of the State. This new

The doctrine of *laissez-faire*. that is, of *letting alone* ; a system, in its application to industry, of allowing free competition, so that masters and workers, buyers and sellers, could regulate matters for themselves with as little interference as possible from the governing authority. Industrial freedom, argued the believers in *laissez-faire*, is the ideal condition. Society at present is suffering from a lack of it. Let us abolish everything in the way of restraint or combination in matters industrial that we possibly can. But this was opening up opportunities not so much for liberty as for license ; freedom does not imply the absence of all restraint ; we are in many matters quite willing to endure restraints and limitations in the very interests of freedom and progress.

*The Wealth of Nations* was so successful as to cause quite an interest to be taken in the study of political economy, and many succeeding writers

tried to develop Adam Smith's ideas. But whereas Smith had tried always to keep closely in touch with the actual conditions of things as he saw them in the life of the people around him, or as he read of them in the pages of history, his successors paid little or no attention to the real England around them, with its changing social conditions. Hence the rules they framed in their writings for the guidance of English industrial and commercial affairs were often very abstract and not very closely associated with real life. They wrote of the English workers and the labour they had to sell for wages in very much the same way as they wrote of goods or machinery which were capable of being moved from place to place with ease according to changes in market prices. They did not seem to realise that such an artisan, encumbered with wife and family, ignorant of the world outside his own little town or village, bound by the customs of his forefathers, and, until that time, by restrictions on his movement to another parish, was not very likely to know what was really best for himself, or be independent enough of his employer to be able so to bargain with him as to obtain what was really best. Consequently the application of their new economic ideas was likely to press hard upon the ordinary worker.

And there were other matters also which were likely to work in the same direction. The sturdy independence and self-respect of many of the workers was being undermined by a vicious poor-

law system. It was also a time of labour shifting, that is, a time when work which had formerly been done by one class of workers was being transferred to another class. A boy or girl of sixteen could now look after four looms, while these produced nine times the amount a skilled hand-loom weaver had formerly produced. Hence boys and girls were replacing their parents in the new factories, and many parents were willing to take advantage of their children's work.

It was more unfortunate still that many people read the new economic writings without much real understanding of them, and looked upon the rules the economists had established as laws true for all time and against which it was useless to strive. Hence, on the one hand, they reasoned, that governmental interference was quite useless, since these things must be ; and, on the other hand, some of the manufacturers, who saw the evils around them, quieted their consciences and shirked their responsibilities with the feeling and belief that the evils were quite inevitable.

And there was much in the immediate and striking success of the new captains of industry to suggest that the *laissez-faire* doctrine was true ; though this success of the new capitalists, many of whom had started their career as artisans themselves, gave some of them the unfortunate idea that "getting on" depended solely upon one's capacity, and that the battle was indeed always to the strong. These self-made men looked down upon their workers and were often

new  
relations  
between  
master  
and man ;

hard and harsh in their dealings with them. The increasing size of the factories prevented that personal association between master-craftsman and workman which had been in many cases a feature of the earlier state of affairs. The association between employer and employed was now the market rate of wages; the "cash nexus," as Carlyle called it. But in fixing this rate true freedom of contract simply did not exist. There could be no equality of bargaining when one party was a successful manufacturer of the type we have described above and the other a poverty-stricken man, woman, or even child, or worse still, a pauper apprentice hired out by a poor-law authority, which had, in this way, ceased to be responsible for him. In such a contract the want, degradation, and even death of the employee had but little weight against the cheapness of the product. And unfortunately the great struggle against France was making plentiful production a necessity at all costs, for the nation seemed to be struggling for its very existence.

But the results of unrestricted competition in the domain of industry were soon painfully apparent. Persons of all ages and both sexes were collected together in the new factories with a totally insufficient regard for their health or their morals. The rapid extensions of commerce led to long hours of labour by night as well as by day. The transference of work to women and children brought about a lowering of the standard of comfort in the homes of the people. The con-

painful  
effects  
upon the  
workers.

ditions of employment were in very many cases horrible: the hours of labour were long; the strength and intelligence demanded were quite beyond those of the children employed; whippings and worse punishments were used to keep them to their tasks after they were quite tired out; mind and body alike were neglected or, worse still, were fatally injured. Worst of all was the condition of the pauper apprentices, who were taken in batches by the masters of the water-mills, whose position in out-of-the-way places made it difficult for them to obtain sufficient labour. The position of these poor apprentices was literally one of slavery, often of a very brutal type. Some of the stories of their life seem hardly believable; unfortunately they are proved true by the evidence of Royal Commissions of Enquiry.

When this state of things became known, it was evident that the labour market at any rate could not be left to the caprices of *laissez-faire*, but must be checked either by combination on the part of the workers, or by interference on the part of the Legislature. Philanthropists and religious leaders attempted to arouse public feeling upon the question as early as 1795, and with the passing of the Reform Bill in 1832 another effort was made to raise the standard of living of the poor and to develop among them higher ideals of life. The efforts of the philanthropists were successful, and the principle of State interference in industry was re-established, at first in the interests of the children, then in the interests of

Reaction  
against  
the bad  
conditions  
of workers.

women workers, and finally in the interests of men ; for, once the principle of intervention had been established, it was possible to extend its scope to whatever persons and whatever types of work seemed to require it. It is right to add that from the very first the movement for better conditions was supported by many of the manufacturers themselves ; the first Factory Act was due to the initiative of the grandfather of Sir Robert Peel, a Lancashire manufacturer ; David Dale and Robert Owen of New Lanark, and especially the latter, showed by the regulations employed in their mills that the factory system in itself was not necessarily responsible for the evils it had produced.

It is impossible to enter here into any detailed examination of this new factory legislation, this absolute necessity of imposing restrictions upon labour which the Duke of Argyll called one of the two great discoveries made in the science of government during the nineteenth century. But it will be advisable to obtain some general idea of its scope and progress. It began in 1802 with an Act to improve the conditions of labour of the pauper apprentices in the cotton and woollen mills ; for the fact that they were legally bound as apprentices gave the Government a right of interference on their behalf. The Act restricted their hours of labour to twelve per day, prohibited night work, insisted upon their education during their apprenticeship, and imposed certain sanitary regulations with regard to their workshops and sleeping-rooms.

An attempt was also made to enforce the regulations by a system of inspection by visitors who were to be justices of the peace or clergymen. In practice, however, the Act was inoperative, for it provided no means of compelling its observance ; while a new Act in 1819, which forbade the admission of children to the cotton mills before the age of nine, and reduced the hours of labour of all persons under sixteen to twelve per day, was spoiled by granting the owners permission to recover by extra work time lost by stoppages of machinery. This Act was the result of the inquiries of Select Committees of the House of Commons and of the House of Lords which had revealed the terrible state of affairs.

Little real progress, however, had been made by 1830, when the question was taken up by a Yorkshire land-steward named Richard Oastler, who commenced a vigorous agitation in the north of England. He was supported in parliament by J. T. Hobhouse and M. T. Sadler. Industrial reform was opposed by the manufacturers on the ground that foreign competition and the pressure of taxation would prevent them from working their mill at a profit if hours of labour were reduced. The Tory party, that is, in effect, the landed interest, lent their aid to the movement for reform, and Oastler's agitation for ten hours a day and a

Factory "time book," led to some alterations  
Act, being made by a Factory Act, 1831,  
1831. and to the appointment of a Royal  
Commission, whose Report is a terrible indictment  
of the existing factory system.

Meanwhile an election had followed the passing of the Reform Bill of 1832 and a new parliament full of reforming zeal was in existence.

Factory legislation, 1833-1850. Unfortunately Sadler had lost his seat in the elections, but his place in the Commons was taken by Lord Ashley, afterwards Earl of Shaftesbury, one of the noblest of English philanthropists. His efforts led to Lord Althorp's Act of 1833. This applied to all textile factories and firmly established the principle of legislative interference. Children between the ages of nine and thirteen were not to work more than forty-eight hours per week, and were to attend school also; the hours of work of young persons of thirteen to eighteen were limited to sixty-eight per week; no one under eighteen was to do night work, which was defined as work between 8.30 p.m. and 5.30 a.m.; inspectors were appointed with power to enforce the Act. Difficulties in the administration of the Act, and the conditions of labour in factories other than the textile works, led to the Ashley Commission of 1840, which covered the whole field of labour, and was followed in 1844 by an Act still further restricting the hours of labour of children between eight and thirteen, and bringing adult women under the same conditions as those established for young persons by the Act of 1833. This Act also insisted, for the first time, on the fencing of dangerous machinery. Then came the Act of 1847, which gave a ten-hour day between 5.30 a.m and 10.30 p.m. to all women and children, though working in relays made its enforcement difficult, and led in



1850 to an Act which made work illegal except between the hours of 6 a.m. and 6 p.m. or 7 a.m. and 7 p.m. in winter, and made work cease on Saturdays at 2 p.m.

State interference was now restored on a national basis, and the application of the enactments proved a remarkable success in a hitherto untried field of legislation. State interference fully restored. Opposed at each step by manufacturers and economists, State interference was welcomed by the workers, and once the principle had been established in the textile industries it was rapidly extended to other branches of industry. Royal Commissions showed that the evil existed in all branches of work: the conditions of work for women and children in mines were horrible; nor were matters very much better in lace-making, bookbinding, chimney-sweeping, straw-plaiting, brick and tile making, nail and chain making, and above all in tailoring and dressmaking. It was found necessary to widen still further the meaning attached to the word factory and to include workshops; for it was found that the worst evils existed, not in the large factories, but in the industries carried on in small factories or in the homes of the people.

Since 1850 legislation has continued to work upon the same lines. Truck, that is, the payment of wages otherwise than in the current coin of the realm, has been prohibited; Recent factory legislation. the hours of labour have been steadily reduced; persons working in unhealthy and dangerous occupations have been specially protected;

efforts have been made to prevent sweating, that is, taking advantage of the poverty and generally poor conditions of life of the worker to obtain unfair contracts of labour ; Shop Acts have done something to lessen the hardships of an important class of servants ; the fencing of machinery, the liability of employers, and the right of compensation for workers have been the means of securing the safety of the labourer while engaged in his work. There is also now a movement on the part of the workers to secure the State adoption in all industries of the principle of a minimum wage sufficient to ensure to the worker a necessary minimum standard of life, a principle which is in some ways reminiscent of gild life and mediæval legislation.

## CHAPTER XLI.

### AFTER WATERLOO.

THE year of Waterloo marks the beginning of an important epoch in the history of western Europe. For twenty-five years Europe immediately after 1815. had been under the influence of revolutionary doctrines, hailed at first as the forerunners of a golden age of universal brotherhood, but resulting in the fifteen years' despotism of Napoleon and a terrible war. Now with Waterloo came the peace which all Europe ardently desired. The nations, deprived of men and treasure and weary of warfare, entered upon a period of peace which was not seriously broken for nearly forty years. But with the peace came reaction. The people of the Continent were prepared to endure almost any form of government provided it could guarantee peace. The immediate result was, therefore, that they exchanged the tyranny of Napoleon for a tyranny of the Great Powers. The rulers of Russia, Prussia, and Austria met in congresses and formed "Holy Alliances," with the object of preventing any recurrence of the revolutionary heresies. In effect, this meant a determination to suppress any democratic outbursts by united action, and, if necessary, by force of arms.

England had shared in the settlement of Europe, but the general feeling at home had prevented her

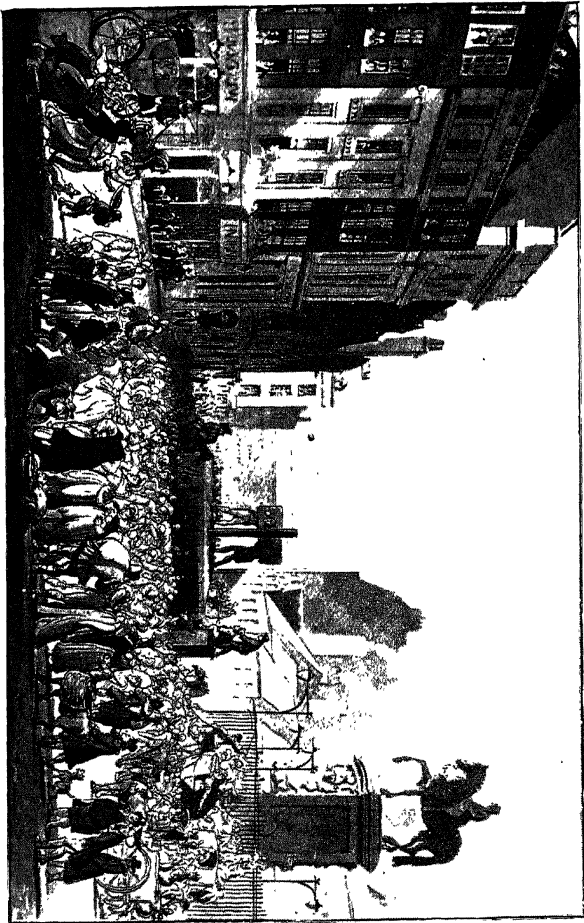
England representatives from joining in the after 1815: policy of reaction. Her position was in many ways different from that of the other countries. True, she had expended a large number of men and a vast amount of money in defeating the French; it was England's money and England's subsidies that had alone made the maintenance of the struggle possible. But our country had been spared the horrors of actual warfare. Thanks especially to her seamen, no foe had been able to invade her. Moreover, Trafalgar had ensured that control of the sea which placed her first among the nations. Her lost American colonies had been replaced by fresh colonies elsewhere. Her trade and industry had increased considerably. Her population had risen from fourteen to nineteen millions, a much greater rate of increase than that of any of her rivals.

It has been estimated that the cost of the war from first to last was nearly £1,000,000,000. The

her National Debt had increased from £239,650,000 to £861,000,000, and was costing the nation annually more than £32,000,000 in interest, a heavy charge for nineteen million people to bear. In 1815 the country raised over £74,000,000 by taxation alone, nearly four times as much as the national expenditure of 1792, the last year of the peace. It might be thought that a nation which had endured this burden successfully could now look forward to an era of great prosperity. But this was not so. The

Industrial Revolution had enabled the country to bear the burden, but it had also caused an alteration in the political and social situation. Trouble was likely to come from the very peace itself. The demand in many branches of industry associated with military and naval equipment had been very great, and was now suddenly stopped. The price of iron, for example, soon fell one-half. Wages were reduced, many men were thrown out of employment, and the cessation of demand reacted upon associated industries such as mining. During the war trade had been stimulated abnormally, for England was often the only source of supply, and her flag alone afforded protection to traders. Now the continental nations would begin to develop their own commerce again, and though at first they would have to depend mainly upon English goods, their exhaustion was so great that they were likely to be but poor markets for some time. Meanwhile, at home, the dismissal of some half-million soldiers, sailors, and others who had been engaged directly in the war added to the problem of unemployment at a time when the introduction of machinery and labour-saving processes was causing a great amount of distress. In addition there was the terrible burden of debt and taxation, of which we have already spoken, and, to crown all, 1816 was a year of very bad harvests at home and abroad.

Let us consider for a moment the condition of the poorer classes at this time. They were, generally speaking, brought up in complete igno-



THE DAYS OF PUBLIC PUNISHMENTS. THE PILLOW AT CHARING CROSS IN 1808.  
(*After a Drawing by Rowlandson.*)



rance, were forced to begin work at a very early age, and worked often under shameful conditions of insanitation, overcrowding, and long hours of labour. The prisons were dens of horror, the prisoners at the mercy of jailers who used their position to extract money from their unfortunate charges in all sorts of ways. Children and older persons, the debtor and the hardened criminal, the convicted prisoner and the person under remand, all mixed together. The punishments inflicted were brutal and degrading. It was not until 1817 that the public flogging of women was abolished. Whipping was a common punishment for men, hanging a common penalty. It was a capital offence to steal a horse or a sheep, to take goods to the value of five shillings from a shop, or of forty shillings from a dwelling-house. It was only in 1808 that an Act had removed the death penalty from the offence of picking pockets to the value of five shillings ; in 1819 there were still two hundred felonies punishable by death ; so severe were the penalties that juries acquitted poor wretches rather than see them hanged. The offenders who were not hanged were transported to Australia, or condemned to the worse fate of penal servitude at home. Nor was there any efficient police force in the country to check crime until the establishment of our present police system by Sir Robert Peel in 1829.

There was much extravagance and waste of money in the government ; sinecure offices were abundant ; parliament seemed to be legislating



only for its own section of the community. It is no wonder that with the peace there were demands for reforms of various kinds. Unfortunately the Government adopted an unsympathetic attitude. Workmen were not allowed to combine to obtain better wages or better conditions of labour; the only outlets for the prevailing discontent were rioting, rick-burning, and the breaking of machinery. These showed the discontent of ignorant people who were feeling their poverty keenly without understanding its causes, which were mainly social; and the agitation for redress became a demand for political rather than for social reform; for a representative House of Commons elected on a wider franchise. A wealthy middle-class population of manufacturers and traders had come into existence and was demanding a greater share in the government of the country than they possessed under the existing franchise system. The times were ripe, too, for a redistribution of seats in the Commons; large new towns like Manchester and Birmingham had no representatives; Cornwall had forty-four representatives, while the whole of Scotland had only forty-five.

The bad harvest of 1816 was followed by fierce riots in many places. The Government in alarm suspended the Habeas Corpus Act,—its last suspension in our history,—arrested and prosecuted some of the leaders of sedition, and so stopped the troubles for a time. Unfortunately in 1819 the magistrates of Manchester foolishly

attempted to arrest a Radical leader known as Orator Hunt at a large gathering in St. Peter's Field, and on meeting with resistance ordered a cavalry charge upon the unarmed mob. Several persons were killed, and the event, popularly spoken of as the Battle of Peterloo or the Manchester massacre, was used by agitators to embarrass the Government. Attempts were made to suppress the growing agitation by stern repressive measures (the Six Acts) aimed not only at active participants in rioting, but at all who attacked the Government and their measures in the newspapers and other publications. A plot—the Cato Street Conspiracy—to murder the whole Cabinet afforded some show of reason for these Acts, and the movement for parliamentary reform was checked for ten years.

Europe in  
revolution,  
1830. In 1830 Europe was once more stirred by revolution. The Poles were in rebellion ; Belgium was demanding separation from Holland ; Italy was stirring against Austria ; the French rose in arms and deposed their king because of his unconstitutional actions. At home the feeling showed itself in a new demand for reform. The death of George IV. rendered a general election necessary. It was fought on the reform question, and the Tories, who had held office for twenty-three years, were beaten. A Whig ministry was formed under Lord Grey and prepared a Reform Bill which became law in 1832 after much opposition in the House of Lords and riotous demonstrations in its favour in many parts of the country. The Act extended the franchise considerably, especially in the boroughs, and a

redistribution of seats gave members to the new industrial towns at the expense of the older centres

Reform of population. The result was to place  
 Bill, 1832. the power mainly in the hands of the middle classes, and the lower House now gained the ascendancy. How this power was used we shall see in subsequent chapters.

Side by side with the agitation for reform there was also a movement for the removal of the restrictions upon trade associated with the Mercantile system. We have seen that this regulation of trade in the supposed interests of national power was a feature of State policy from the sixteenth century onwards ; and that during the eighteenth century economists began to attack this system on

Demand the ground that it restricted trade un-  
 for free duly and caused high prices from which  
 trade. the consumer suffered. They claimed that free competition between man and man was the true order of life, and advocated the policy of *laissez-faire*, that is, as we have already seen, of the greatest possible liberty of action in commerce and industry, of the right to dispose of one's goods or one's labour with as few restrictions as possible. In his *Wealth of Nations*, Adam Smith placed the subsistence of the people before the necessities of the State as the primary object of his political economy. He objected to taxes on food as detrimental to the well-being of the community ; though he recognised the necessity of taxation for purposes of revenue, and defended the Navigation Acts as a necessary part of the provision for national defence. So far as national wealth was concerned,

he maintained that if every individual were able freely to seek his own wealth, the wealth of the nation must increase also, and freedom of commerce would ensure the presence of sufficient money in the country without resorting to artificial methods of keeping it there ; while commerce ought to be a bond of friendship between nations rather than a source of discord and trouble. To offer special encouragements to certain branches of industry was needless and costly and fostered such trades at the expense of the community.

But this system of special help to certain branches of industry in the supposed interests of national power had now been a common English practice for centuries. Many illustrations of its application have been given in preceding chapters, and it has already been shown that taxation was a means commonly employed to bring about this desired result. Of course some of the many taxes placed upon imports and exports were imposed for purposes of revenue, that is, they were imposed in order to obtain money with which to carry on the administration of the country. But others were imposed to protect from foreign, and even from colonial, competition certain industries whose success seemed necessary to the welfare of the nation. At times, indeed, the Government had gone further than this, and had prohibited the import of such foreign and colonial articles as seemed to compete unduly with home productions ; a sufficiently heavy tax also sometimes acted in the same way.

But the rapid developments of trade brought

about by the Industrial Revolution now made England dependent, to a great and ever increasing extent, upon foreign countries for her Need of food and raw material of industry and for her material food supply. She was now becoming from abroad. the workshop of the world, and in many industries, as, for example, the cotton and silk manufactures, was using raw materials which could not be produced at home. Moreover, her increasing industrial population required more food than the country seemed able to supply. For several centuries England had been able to grow sufficient corn to supply the needs of her own population, and in years of good harvests had actually been a corn-exporting country, and the Government had always been willing to help the corn-growers by taxes on imported corn, and even by bounties upon English corn exported to the Continent.

In those times, however, England's foreign trade had not been so important as it had become in the early years of the nineteenth century, and the landed interest had been the all-important portion of the community in the eyes of the Government. Now foreign trade was increasing in importance and merchants and manufacturers were anxious that it should develop still more. One great hindrance to this development, however, seemed to them to be the presence of the complicated system of protective duties of which we have spoken. This tariff had grown in very haphazard fashion, until there were no fewer than 1100 Customs Acts in use, most of which had been

instituted for protective, and not for revenue, purposes. In addition, there were the Corn Laws, which afforded protection to the English farmer by prohibiting the import of foreign and colonial corn except under heavy duties until the home price rose to a certain height. Cheap food meant to the manufacturers the increased efficiency of their workmen without extra cost to themselves. Besides, anything which restricted the exchange of commodities by restricting trade tended to lessen the manufacturers' markets; if food products were freely imported from abroad, they would be paid for, in the balance of trade, by additional exports of manufactured goods. The time had gone by when the agricultural industry could demand special protection as the most important interest of the nation; the interests of the manufacturers and shippers had now also to be considered.

Hence in 1820 the merchants of London presented a petition to parliament asking for the removal of all restrictions upon trade except such as were necessary for purposes of revenue. The House of Commons reported favourably upon it; and Huskisson, the President of the Board of Trade, initiated a policy of free trade in 1823 by reducing the duties on many imported raw materials, abolishing many bounties, and cutting down the duties on imported manufactured goods from between 180 and 40 per cent. to between 30 and 15 per cent. of their value. He also modified the Navigation Acts by making concessions to

Effects of  
protective  
duties.

Huskisson's  
financial  
reforms,  
1823.

other nations who were willing to give reciprocal privileges in their ports to British shipping ; and instituted free trade between Great Britain and Ireland. The results obtained seemed to justify the change, for they showed that reduced taxation would lead ultimately to a greater revenue than higher taxes had given, owing to trade developments and the increased consumption accompanying lower duties. At the same time a severe blow was struck at smuggling, which had prospered so exceedingly on a high tariff that half the foreign goods consumed were contraband, while the expense of checking smuggling was great.

The Ministry came to an end in 1827, the next years were occupied with the question of parliamentary reform, and some years elapsed before duties were further reduced.<sup>7</sup> A series of Budget deficits extending from 1837 to 1842 forced the matter to the front once more, and a Committee of the House of Commons, 1840, reported strongly in favour of further reforms. It showed that although over 1100 articles paid duty, the revenue depended almost entirely upon about twenty of them ; very many produced practically no revenue, for the high duties imposed prevented the people from using articles so highly taxed. In

1842 the Budget deficit amounted to  
 Peel's financial reforms, 1842 and 1845. £2,000,000 ; and Sir Robert Peel, the Prime Minister, introduced some important measures of financial reform.

All prohibitions were replaced by moderate import duties, especially reduced in the case of cattle, meat, and other food-stuffs. Duties

were reduced upon 750 articles ; the maximum duty on raw materials was fixed at 5 per cent., on partly manufactured goods at 12 per cent., and on manufactured goods at 20 per cent., of their value. His measures proved so successful in removing the Budget deficits, that in 1845 he extended them by removing the duties upon 450 articles, including many useful raw materials, by finally abolishing all duties on exports, and by lessening the duty on sugar. In order to make up for the loss of revenue likely to ensue at first from these concessions, he imposed an income tax of sevenpence in the pound on incomes of £150 and upwards. This he intended to remain only until the revenue was restored to its former amount. Five years, he thought, would suffice, but the income tax has never been removed.

Although this question of removing protective duties concerned almost all branches of industry, and was therefore much wider in its scope than the question of the protection of food-stuffs alone, yet from the commencement of the agitation for the removal of protective tariffs public interest centred itself especially upon the repeal of the taxes upon corn. So much, indeed, was this the case that people often fail to recognise that the change of policy we are here describing was connected with the whole of English trade and that the Corn Laws were only one portion of the system attacked. Taxes upon food touched the poor very closely. Heavy duties meant high prices, and consequently the money spent in food formed a large portion of



every worker's income, and any serious rise in prices meant semi-starvation to many. During the Napoleonic wars, owing partly to our isolation and partly to a series of bad harvests, there had been a decided rise in prices, and corn was often very dear.

But while prices were high the farmers had found it possible to grow corn on land which could not possibly be tilled profitably when prices were low, and much pasture had been ploughed up for wheat-growing. Rents had doubled, landowners and farmers had invested money in the land, and with peace and a possible fall in prices these speculators saw only ruin before them. They had borne a large share of the cost of the war, but they had lived and acted in many cases as if the high prices were going to last for ever. Now they cried out for protection, and a parliament mainly composed of landowners supported them by the Corn Law of 1815, which prevented the import of foreign corn till home prices reached 80s. per quarter.

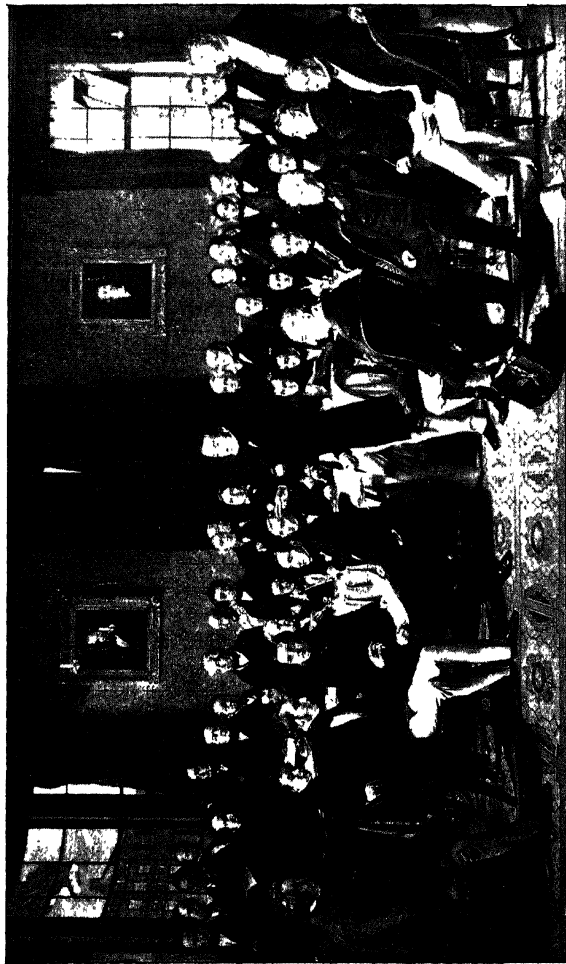
In the following year bad harvests at home and abroad caused the price of wheat to become much higher than this, and there was widespread distress in the country. The Corn Laws were held to be responsible for the high price of food, and were attacked as class measures favouring the landed interest at the expense of the rest of the community. As Professor Nicholson has shown in his *History of the Corn Laws*, so far from raising the price of wheat, the duties on corn may actually have lowered it a little by stimulating home pro-

duction. But, as he also points out, the general result was to increase the fluctuations in prices, and it was in the times of dearth, when even a small rise in prices was a great evil, and productive of much misery, that the rise was most felt.

The outlook for the farmers for some years after 1825 was very bad. There was severe agricultural depression, numbers of farmers were ruined, and land went out of cultivation. The Act of 1815 had failed to relieve agriculture, and in 1828 a change was made by imposing a sliding scale of duties varying from 36s. 8d. when the price was 50s., to 1s. when the price was 73s. per qr. This failed to satisfy either producer or consumer, and the demand for the repeal of the Corn Laws grew. An association for this purpose was formed in London in 1836; two years later a similar one was established in Manchester, and became the Anti-Corn-Law League, of which two Lancashire manufacturers, Richard Cobden and John Bright, were prominent members. Its avowed object was to "convince the manufacturers that the Corn Laws were interfering with the growth of trade, to persuade the people that they were raising the price of food, and to teach the agriculturist that they had not even the solitary merit of securing a fixed price for corn." Large sums of money were subscribed to support the agitation, meetings were held in all parts of the kingdom, and the country was flooded with pamphlets. The repeal movement owed much to the unwearied labours of Cobden, to the oratory of Bright, to the parlia-

mentary efforts of Villiers, and to the verses of Ebenezer Elliott, the Corn Law poet.

At first the Government was strongly opposed to the change, and was backed by the landed interest. But the efforts of the League proved irresistible. The distress in the country during 1841 and 1842 was in itself a terrible argument, and did much to convince Sir Robert Peel of the necessity of repeal. Cobden entered the House of Commons in 1841, Bright also became a member in 1843. The agitation was continued in every possible way. Agricultural distress remained throughout 1844 and 1845; in the latter year a wet autumn caused a bad harvest, followed by a rise in bread prices; worse still, the potato crops in Ireland were attacked by disease. Famine was threatening, and Sir Robert Peel, now converted both by Cobden's arguments and by the necessities of the situation, brought in a measure for the abolition of the Corn Laws. His proposal was that they should cease in 1849 except for a registration duty of 1s. per qr., and that there should be lower duties in the intervening years. This proposal speedily became law, and with it the old system of protection received its death-blow. Cobden had attacked the Corn Laws as being "the foster-parent of all the monopolies," and the result showed the wisdom of his estimate, for in a comparatively short time the duties were removed from most of the country's exports and imports, and England embarked upon a policy of freedom of trade.



*Kischgitz, phot.*

COBIEN ADDRESSING THE COUNCIL OF THE ANTI-CORN-LAW LEAGUE.

*(from the Painting by J. R. Herbert, R.A.)*



## CHAPTER XLII.

### THE RISE OF TRADE UNIONS.

WE have seen in a preceding chapter that the State was compelled to interfere in the interests of the factory workers ; we must now consider some of the efforts these workers made to help themselves by means of their trade organisations. Unions for many kinds of purposes have always been a feature of English life. There were religious and frith gilds as early as the days of the Saxons. The gilds merchant and craft gilds of the Middle Ages were closely associated with industry and trade. It is impossible, however, to look upon our modern trade unions as the direct descendants of either of these. The merchant gilds were concerned with the town's trade, and the craft gilds were associations, composed mainly of master-craftsmen, which aimed at supervision of labour in order to secure good quality at fair prices ; trade unions are associations of wage-earners who have combined together to maintain, or to improve, their conditions of labour and their standard of life. It has been shown by Mr. and Mrs. Webb, in their important *History of Trade Unionism*, that these trade unions generally arose in industries in which the majority of workers had ceased to be pro-

ducers who owned the material and the product of their industry as the gild craftsmen had done, and had become wage-earners only, with no other interest than their wages in the machinery of production or in the marketing of the finished article. As long as the young journeymen had a reasonable prospect of becoming masters themselves, they were fairly content with their working conditions while waiting for the time when they would be masters ; there was, therefore, no place for the trade union among them. But wherever the conditions of work in a trade led to the employment of a number of hired journeymen working for a master, and likely to remain in that position for the whole of their lives, they began to combine together into unions or fraternities in order to look after their own special-interests.

There were not many of these societies in existence before the eighteenth century. Some of the earliest of them were almost as exclusive as the earlier gilds had been. They were generally associations of men engaged in some skilled industry, and such workers tried as much as possible to keep the work in their own hands by making it difficult for any one to become an apprentice in the trade. One way of doing this was to restrict apprenticeship as much as possible to their own sons ; another was to make the premium to be paid for the apprenticeship of an outsider as high as possible.

Disputes between masters and workers became more common in the eighteenth century than they had formerly been. There are plenty of memo-

rials of masters to parliament during this century for the removal of grievances associated with their particular industries, and in some of these the masters complain that their workpeople are combining against them. The workmen, too, had been taught to look to the law for protection, and they also appealed for the enforcement of Acts of Parliament such as the statute of 1563, which empowered justices to fix fitting rates of wages ; though there were also frequent appeals to riots and machine-breaking. But attempts to put existing laws into motion or to frame new ones in the interests of the workers were unsuccessful. In 1793 a Bill to suppress wool-combing machines because they deprived the wool-combers of their work was defeated, though permission was given to the workers to find a fresh trade elsewhere without the necessity of a new apprenticeship to it, which was what the Act of 1563 really insisted upon. Several unsuccessful attempts were also made towards the close of the century to fix a minimum rate of wages in certain industries. The conditions of parliamentary representation were such as to afford the workers but little chance of their views being considered, or their point of view adopted. How parliament viewed the matter is well seen in the report of a Committee which was formed to consider a petition of the hand-loom weavers, 1808, in connection with their conditions of labour. It declared that to fix a minimum rate of wages was wholly inadmissible in principle, incapable of being reduced to practice

Position of  
workmen  
in the  
eighteenth  
century.



by any devisable means, and if practicable productive of the most fatal consequences; while to limit the number of apprentices would be a very great injustice to both manufacturers and labourers.

But though the law was not employed to fix rates of wages it was possible to call in its aid Combination Acts, against workpeople who combined in restraint of trade, that is, who did 1799-1800. anything to hinder work from being carried on. In 1799 and 1800 fresh Acts were passed which strengthened the already existing laws against combinations of workers, and made it illegal for workmen to combine to obtain increases of wages or altered hours of labour, or to hinder masters from employing whomsoever they chose. A great authority on these matters, Dr. Cunningham, considers that these Acts were "on the face of it a gross injustice." There really seems to have been no reason for their adoption. There was no petition in their favour; there were many petitions for their repeal. The Act of 1800 was hurried through parliament in a time of political panic, when the developments of the French Revolution had made the Government afraid of seditious meetings and possible rebellion.

The passing of these Acts left the workers with a strong feeling of resentment and a sense of injustice against parliament and their masters. At this particular time there was much misery among the people as a result of the war, and the difficulties of the Government were very great. Wages were

*Laissez-faire*  
and  
workers'  
unions.

low ; prices were often very high. The *laissez-faire* theories were totally opposed to any State interference ; the economists considered that it was useless to interfere with freedom of contract between master and worker, and urged that improvements for the workers in certain industries could only take place at the expense of less fortunate workers in others. When the workers asked that existing Elizabethan statutes for regulating wages, apprenticeship, etc., should be put into operation, a perfectly legitimate request for the protection of the law, parliament suspended the operation of these Acts, and then repealed them. Common suffering gave greater unity to the workers, and an unfortunate feeling of antagonism between the interests of employers and employed developed. Trade societies were formed, sometimes in secret and with grotesque but impressive ritual, for one of the worst results of the new legislation was that it drove discontent underground. Now that workmen were being collected together into factories they met one another more frequently and this helped trade unionism to spread. Two means were open to these unions of gaining an improvement in the conditions of labour of their members. The one was so to organise the members as to be able to control conditions of work by strikes if necessary ; the other to agitate in parliament for better conditions. As a general rule the tendency has been to work through parliament in times of trade depression, and to work by means of the union organisation in times when trade is good and there is a great demand for labour.

When wages were reduced with the fall of prices and the bad years which followed the peace of 1815, there was much industrial discontent. For some time, however, this discontent showed itself chiefly in political action and in demands for an extension of the parliamentary franchise. In 1824, however, a Parliamentary Committee of Enquiry recommended the repeal of the Combination Acts, and their repeal was followed by the formation of many new trade unions. Improved trade led to a number of strikes. An effort was made to bring back the Combination Acts, but it failed in its purpose, and an Act of Parliament, 1825, made it possible for workmen to combine together to obtain better wages and better working conditions. The Act really gave the workers but little freedom of action, but it did give them the right of collective action within very narrow limits. The real gain from the repeal of the Acts against combination was that it removed from the workers their feeling of apathy and helplessness, and replaced it by one of independence and self-respect.

This result did not come at once. The unionists made many mistakes at first, but they learned much by bitter experience, and responsibility was, after all, the best teacher they could have had. The first years of their new freedom were marked by poor tactics and worse results. There was a tendency to appeal immediately to violent strikes; and the unions formed were rarely lasting ones. They came into

existence to meet some immediate need and disappeared when the field had been lost or won. It was easily possible to step outside the narrow bounds of what was permitted by law. The older regulations punishing offences in restraint of trade were still in existence, and could readily be put into operation against them. It was still an offence to place pickets to prevent men from going to work, even though peaceful persuasion only was employed ; or to leave work unfinished ; or even to threaten to strike for better conditions of work or for better wages.

Meanwhile the new movement reached the agricultural labourers also, and they formed a national union and demanded a minimum wage of ten shillings a week. The farmers of Tolpuddle, a village near Dorchester, set the law into operation against six labourers who had formed a branch of this union in their village, and, in spite of their admitted good character, these men were sentenced to transportation for seven years under an old statute which made it unlawful to enrol men by oath. A great outburst of indignation followed, and trade unionists and Radical members of parliament combined to obtain the pardon and return of the men. In this they were successful, but in spite of the victory there was a general decline in unionist progress, especially between 1840 and 1850. The violence of the strikers lost them much sympathy and support. Trade was bad. These years also were filled with important political movements, in which the attack upon the Corn Laws and the Chartist movement were prominent.

Many of the workers shared actively in these movements, and it was not until they had come to an end that the trade unions began to revive again.

When this revival did come the newly-formed unions adopted different tactics from those of their predecessors. Generally speaking they demanded from their members a high rate of subscription, and made provision for out-of-work and sick and funeral benefits, after the fashion of the important friendly societies. There was also much less inclination to use the strike as a weapon. These new unions were well served by a number of devoted officials; the additional benefits granted made membership more permanent; their moderation gave them a position of greater financial strength. Attention was now turned towards parliamentary action. The older antagonism and mistrust of the middle classes changed to a recognition of the unions and to some measure of support. They received valuable aid from economists and social reformers such as Professor Beesly, Frederick Harrison, Charles Kingsley, Tom Hughes, and others. At the same time employers of labour began also to combine in self-defence and to meet strike with lock-out. The unions combined more and more with a view to national action, and in 1868 a Trade Union Congress at which representatives of many different unions were present was held for the first time; and a Parliamentary Committee was elected to watch over the interests of the workers in parliamentary matters. Trade Councils were also formed in the various towns to

Trade  
union  
develop-  
ments,  
1850 to 1870.

unite the different unions in each locality for common action in municipal affairs.

In 1867 some sensational outrages against workmen who were not unionists took place in Sheffield, and the Sheffield unions were charged with causing them. A Parliamentary Enquiry followed. It showed that unionists were sharers in these outrages ; but it pointed out also the difficulties of proper unionist action

Parliamentary  
recognition  
of the  
unions,  
1871 and  
1874.

owing to the restrictions by which they were bound. The result was that an Act of Parliament, 1871, abolished the law punishing offences in restraint of trade, and allowed the registration of the unions as friendly societies, thus giving them legal protection for their funds. At the same time a Criminal Law Amendment Act\* made stringent regulations with respect to picketing and other forms of interference in trade disputes. Union action was now directed towards the repeal of this Act and therefore became mainly political. Trade union representatives were elected to parliament for the first time in 1874, and in the next year an Act was passed which is sometimes spoken of as the *Magna Carta* of trade unionism. It freed the unions from the regulations of the Act of 1871, allowed them the right of peaceful persuasion by means of pickets in trade disputes, and defined the acts which would be considered unlawful interference or annoyance on their part. Most important of all, it enacted that any act done by a number of persons united together for common action in a trade dispute was not to be considered illegal if

such an act was legal when committed by a single person ; nor was an act to be considered illegal if done by workmen unless it was also illegal when done by any one else. The workers thus obtained that right of combination for which they had been striving for so many years, and in this branch of industrial life the old ideas of the *laissez-faire* economists were abandoned, and combinations of workers for the express purpose of obtaining better conditions of employment and higher wages were definitely recognised.

For many years after this great victory trade unionists naturally placed great faith in parliamentary action, and the number of their representatives in parliament was increased. There was a general desire on the part of the unions to avoid any rash actions and to strengthen their position by taking care of their funds, which were now becoming large ones. But about the year 1886 a new movement entered into unionism. Many of the younger members began to look upon this careful action as leading to stagnation. Trade depression about this time caused much unemployment and distress, and the result was the rise of a new unionism which called for more vigorous action on the part of the unions. In 1889 came the first result of this in the shape of a Dockers' Strike. It proved possible to organise these casual and unskilled labourers, and to bring their strife to a successful issue. Success was in great measure due to a wave of sympathy which spread over the country. Newspapers supported the strike and

Rise of  
new  
unionism,  
1886.

collected large sums in its aid ; the workers of Australia, too, sent monetary help. Many other unions of unskilled workers were formed, and these frequently abandoned the older methods of friendly society benefits, in favour of a payment for strike purposes only, partly, at any rate, on the ground that the possession of large funds for other purposes had resulted in a weakening of the fighting spirit in order to save the funds. Another important new departure of this year was the adoption by the London School Board of fair wages clauses in all their contracts ; the London County Council followed the same plan when it came into existence. The practice has been widely copied by public authorities, and now, in government and municipal contracts, trade union rates of wages are generally paid, not only in case of directly employed labour but also in contracts for the purchase of material produced elsewhere.

These successes were followed by the formation of many new unions, though at first there seemed the danger of a split between the " old " unionism and the " new," in which the " old " would probably have carried with it most of the well-established unions of highly-skilled workers with their large funds of money. This danger was, however, averted, and the century closed with a movement for a closer association of the various unions in order to strengthen their powers of common help. Meanwhile an Independent Labour Party had come into existence in 1893, and there was a growing feeling in favour of greater State interference in conditions of employment, especially in the directions



of lessened hours of labour and of the establishment of a minimum wage sufficiently high to ensure the maintenance of a reasonable standard of life.

The twentieth century has seen marked progress in both these matters and State interference has steadily increased. The Conciliation  
Trade unionism in the twentieth century. Act (1896) authorised the Board of Trade to intervene in trade disputes and to arbitrate if *both* parties desired arbitration, and this intervention has since been used very successfully. In 1908 the miners obtained an eight-hours' day ; four years later, after a strike which caused much dislocation of industry and called for the intervention of the Prime Minister, an Act of Parliament made a reasonable minimum wage, accompanied by safeguards for the protection of the employers' interests, a part of the contracts of employment of miners. The preceding year had witnessed in the holiday season a strike of the railway workers for more favourable conditions of employment, and this strike also achieved a considerable measure of success.

Alongside these developments there were also some important legal decisions which affected the position of the unions. One decision made the union as a whole responsible for the acts of its individual members. This was the result of an action brought by the Taff Vale Railway Company against its employees' union for damages caused by their striking, and picketing the company's station to prevent them from obtaining new servants. This verdict left the unions liable to be sued for damages

by any employer who considered himself injured by the action of any of their members, and their funds became answerable for the payment of any damages obtained. In 1909 it was decided in the equally famous Osborne case that union members could object to, and prevent, the application of the funds of the union to such purposes as the payment of election expenses and salaries of members of parliament. As a result of these decisions the leaders of the unions have worked actively to promote by legislation changes in the law in these connections, and their efforts have been successful.

Trade unions are now a firmly-established feature of our industrial system. Many employers welcome the presence of a union ; indeed, conciliation and arbitration are impossible without representatives of the men to speak upon their behalf and to enforce obedience to the decisions arrived at. The leaders have proved themselves skilful and capable men, well versed in public affairs, and the trade unions afford to many persons a valuable apprenticeship for public life. Representatives are now to be found in the House of Commons and in all local government. There is an increasing tendency towards common action, which may produce remarkable results in the future. There is no doubt that in the past the general result of unionism has been, as Toynbee asserts, "to avert much social and industrial disorder and to teach workmen to rely upon themselves by organisation and self-help." Now that they have demanded, like their predecessors at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the help

and protection of the State, the question is sure to arise as to what duties should accompany the rights that may be granted. The social problems of labour are not yet solved, but the gentler and wiser temper that now prevails on both sides speaks well for the possibility of their ultimate solution.

## CHAPTER XLIII.

### SIXTY YEARS OF FREE TRADE.

THE repeal of the Corn Laws marked the abandonment of the old Mercantile policy of imposing duties for the purpose of protecting British industries. The succeeding fourteen years completed the triumph of the Free Trade agitation. The Navigation Acts were repealed in 1849 ; and two important Budgets introduced by Mr. Gladstone in 1853 and 1860 respectively cleared away hundreds of protective duties at a cost to the revenue of about only £150,000. What duties remained were imposed for revenue purposes only and not for purposes of protection.

The first twenty years of Free-Trade England mark also the completion of the Industrial Revolution. There was a great increase in the population and wealth of the country, for England was for some years without any serious rival in commerce. There were great demands in all parts of the world for her manufactured products and for the loan of the wealth she was amassing. At home a population of about 18 millions in 1840 had reached nearly 22½ millions in 1871 ; it is now more than 36 millions. Between 1846 and 1872

imports increased nearly fourfold: the total imports and exports in 1791 had been £36,000,000; in 1873 they had risen to £682,000,000; in 1913 the value of the merchandise exported and imported by the United Kingdom was estimated at £1,403,500,000. Mercantile shipping increased correspondingly and England became the world's great carrier of goods. Her wealth was so great that she was able to lend money to her colonies and to foreign countries to help in their development, and this in turn brought her still more trade. She became the world's greatest banker; her capital, London, grew in importance as the world's commercial headquarters, the centre of the trade of the world. The standard of comfort of her people was raised considerably; there was better food in greater quantities at cheaper prices, better clothing and better household conveniences came to be within the reach of almost all. At the same time the country became, to a continually increasing degree, dependent upon other countries for its food supply and for the raw material of industry in certain occupations; and events like the American Civil War, 1861, showed how dangerous a stoppage of this supply could be, for Lancashire suffered acutely from a stoppage of the supply of raw cotton.

To what extent the progress made was a result of the new free-trade policy has always been a Causes of progress. disputed point. There can be no doubt that the removal of the protective duties stimulated many industries considerably; but other things also contributed to the industrial

progress, just as in turn the progress made reacted upon these other things. It was an age of wonderful scientific discovery and invention. The possibilities of rapid communication were increased considerably by improvements in locomotives and steamships, and by the introduction of the electric telegraph in 1837 and the submarine cable four years later ; while they were cheapened by the improvements in printing and paper-making, and by the introduction of the typewriter (1868). The first money orders were issued in 1838, and penny postage was established in 1840. The opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 caused a great extension of our trade with the Far East.

The most ardent of the apostles of free trade hoped that other countries would follow England's European example and that free trade would free-trade ultimately become universal. They movement. hoped, too, that trading inter-communications would result in more friendly feelings being established between different nations, and would tend to the establishment of a brotherhood of the nations which might be able to break down the old continental rivalries. But this was not the opinion of all free traders. Sir Robert Peel himself did not hold this view, nor did he make his adoption of a free-trade policy for England depend upon the adoption of a similar policy by other nations. There was, about the middle of the nineteenth century, a movement towards international brotherhood, and the rise of a more cosmopolitan spirit among the nations of Western Europe. It is visible in the Great Exhibition in Hyde Park,

1851, so carefully fostered by the Prince Consort. Cobden preached free trade upon the Continent and succeeded in forming an important commercial treaty with France in 1860, which allowed of freer trade between England and France. Many commercial treaties followed among the various nations, and there seemed to be a general European movement in favour of greater freedom of trade. But after the Franco-German War (1870-71)

Reaction this movement received a set-back.  
against free trade. There was a pronounced revival of the feeling of nationality; the cost of the war seemed to demand a return to tariffs as a source of revenue; trade competition became keener as the more backward nations developed their industrial resources. There was a growing tendency for the rivalries between the nations to take the form of trade wars, and struggles for commercial advantages took place in all parts of the globe.

The growth of our national industry and commerce reached its climax about 1873. After this continental competition began to be more keenly felt. The great extent of the market, now a world-wide one, and the increased opportunities for speculation, sometimes of a careless and reckless nature, caused this growth to be accompanied by periods of great depression following on periods of rapid trading expansion. The old stability of employment of the Middle Ages has long since disappeared. The periods of trade stagnation and depression which succeed the periods of over-production, have been accompanied by much

unemployment and sometimes by commercial crises with many serious failures in the business world.

Many people prophesied that the repeal of the Corn Laws would be followed by the ruin of British agriculture. But, as a matter of fact, the years up to 1873 were, generally speaking, prosperous ones for the farmers. With a continually increasing population and therefore an increasing demand for food, there was but little diminution in the acreage under corn. At the same time the country was depending more and more upon foreign sources for her food supply, and much corn and meat were being imported. Wool also was now imported in large quantities. The farmers, however, could make profitable use of dairy farming, and the competition of the foreign meat supply was not formidable. After 1874, however, there came a period of severe agricultural depression. Harvests were poor for several years in succession, and the climax was reached in 1879 when a very rainy summer was followed by a failure of the crops. In the same year the American crops were record ones, and with a plentiful importation of corn, prices kept low, instead of rising as a result of the home scarcity. Cattle and sheep diseases, too, destroyed many of the flocks and herds. Many farmers were ruined; wages were reduced; the landowners found their incomes seriously diminished, and agriculture entered upon a period of decline. In succeeding years the increased production of dairy produce abroad, and its speedy transference



to England through developments in steamship transit, have added to the competition. Eggs, butter, and other dairy produce now reach the English markets in good condition from abroad, and since 1880 the introduction of cold storage has made it possible to bring frozen meat from New Zealand, Australia, and America, and place it in a good condition on the markets of the United Kingdom. The result has been that the country has now learned to depend upon these sources for some of its food-stuffs.

With the modern developments of trade went also important developments in banking. The country became richer as trade increased, and with this increase of wealth there was also an increased desire for the possession of additional wealth, and for its profitable investment in industrial or commercial enterprises. We have seen in a previous chapter how the Bank of England was founded. At the close of the eighteenth century it had made considerable progress, and still retained those special privileges which its association with the Government had given it at its foundation. The Bank, however, had had its times of difficulty. During the French war, the Prime Minister, William Pitt, had at times made heavy demands upon it for money with which to carry on the war. Strictly speaking it was illegal for the Bank to lend to the Government without the consent of parliament. But Pitt persuaded the Commons to permit him to draw upon the Bank for any amount he deemed necessary. He availed himself so freely of this

opportunity that the Bank's monetary reserves fell very low and it was unable to meet the demands for coin that were made upon it. It was therefore freed in 1797 from its obligation of paying coin on demand in exchange for its bank-notes, and there was a general paper currency in the country in place of coin until 1819, when the Bank resumed its ordinary methods. At the beginning of the century bank-notes could be issued by the country banks as well as by the Bank of England, and, as trade increased, more business transactions were carried on by means of paper money instead of by coins. In times of prosperity there was a danger lest the banks should issue more notes than they could pay for in cash, if there should be any sudden demand for the exchange of their notes into coin; and there were occasions when depressions of trade were accompanied by commercial crises owing to the banks not being able to make payments when called upon to do so. This was the case in 1825, and again in 1838, when a reckless issue of notes nearly led to a stoppage of all payments in coin. Sir Robert Peel, the Prime Minister, therefore took up the question of a reform of the English banking system, and reorganised it by means of the Bank Charter Act of 1844. This Act made the note-issue department of the Bank of England a separate department in close association with the Government. The Bank was permitted to issue bank-notes to the value of £14,000,000 (the average value of the notes it had issued during the preceding seven years) on the security of debts due to it from the Government.

When it issued notes beyond that amount, it was also to deposit in its cellars sufficient gold to pay for the notes if payment for them should be demanded. Any new banks coming into existence after the passing of the Act were not to be allowed to issue bank-notes at all, and as the older banks changed hands or came to an end their right of note issue was to be transferred to the Bank of England. These measures were much criticised. Some people considered that the best way was to allow perfect freedom to all bankers to issue what notes they thought necessary, believing that they would be careful not to issue an excessive number; others hoped that the new measures would suffice to prevent such times of crisis as had occurred in the past. This, however, has not proved possible; though the prompt action of the governors of the Bank on these occasions has prevented disaster. Many new banks continued to be formed, and it was soon seen that banking could be carried on quite successfully without the right to issue notes.

The demand for wider opportunities of investment led to the extension of joint-stock companies, joint-stock that is, associations of a number of companies. persons for business purposes, in which the shares of each member can be transferred to other persons without the consent of the remaining shareholders. As time went on, greater facilities for the formation of such companies were granted, and were associated with regulations intended to protect the people who invested their money in them. Finally, in 1855 the *limited liability* of such shareholders was recognised, that is, they could

no longer be called upon to contribute to the company more than the amount of the shares they had taken up, so that their private property could not be seized if the company failed. This method of company promotion has become quite a customary method of carrying on business at the present time.

It was by such joint-stock enterprises that the new railways were built. The revolution in means

English of transport is indeed the most characteristic feature of the later years of the Industrial Revolution. As we have already pointed out, it called for the labour of a large number of workers during its period of construction, and when the work was completed an army of workers was required to carry on the traffic. Transport workers now form a very important section of British working men. In 1845 over 2000 miles of railway were working and represented an investment of capital of about £64,240,000, while 3500 miles were then also being laid at a capital cost of £74,000,000. In 1860 the mileage in the United Kingdom was just over 10,000 miles, in 1890 it was nearly 20,000. The total value of the capital now invested in British railways is estimated at more than £1,300,000,000. Moreover, at the time these railways were being built at home much British money was being used to build railways in other parts of the world, and British contractors and navvies were being employed in their construction. In 1844 the Cheap Trains Act compelled the railway companies to run at least one train a day in each direction at a fare of one penny a mile ; since 1873 there has been a

Railway Commission associated with the Board of Trade which has powers of supervision of railway rates for the carriage of goods and merchandise. It is obvious that the cheap and quick transit of goods to different parts of the country is a very important factor in trading developments.

The repeal of the Navigation Acts was followed also by a growth of English shipping, which was aided very materially by the change to English shipping. iron ships moved by steam, for in the middle of the nineteenth century England was practically the only nation in a position to build and equip such ships. Hence Britain retained, and still retains, her position as the great carrying nation of the world's commerce. This growth of shipping helped also in that rapid colonial progress in the direction of self-governing colonies of which we have already spoken. The colonies, however, have rarely associated themselves with the free-trade policy of Britain. They have in most cases imposed duties to protect their new industries even from the competition of the mother country, though there has generally been a willingness on their part to give her more favourable terms than those granted to any other nation. Since 1873 there has also been a decided reaction on the part of European nations towards a policy of protection by means of *tariffs*. At the same time the more composite nations have also adopted a policy of internal free trade; thus within the German Empire there is a Zollverein or Customs Union, which ensures free trade among the various States

forming the Empire. Similarly in the United States, in Canada, and in Australia there is free trade within the federated States, accompanied by a protective tariff on goods from without. This tendency has led some of our economists and statesmen to urge that in the movement from the old Mercantile system towards freedom of trade the swing of the pendulum has probably been too much in the latter direction, and that

Arguments  
against a  
British  
free-trade  
policy.

this country would do well to reconsider and possibly to modify her present free-trade position. Since 1873 the question of foreign trade competition has become more acute, for other nations have developed their natural resources and manufactures, and have sought to help them by means of bounties and protective duties. Moreover, as other States have increased in population, they have ceased to send supplies of food to the United Kingdom as large as they formerly sent. This general tendency of things has led to the suggestion of a general Customs Union of the British Empire, either in the form of free trade within the Empire, and protective duties against goods from without; or of protection within and without, but with big preferences in favour of the colonies. It is urged that the Empire could in this way become quite self-supporting, and dependence upon other countries for food and raw material of industry be avoided. Even more important in the eyes of some is the need of linking up the Empire by this means into a federation for common defence.

On the other hand, it is claimed by the believers

in freedom of trade that the remarkable growth of the nation in population, trade, financial stability, and wealth is a powerful argument for the soundness of the present system. It is urged that the standard of life of our artisan population has been raised by its means, and that it would be very inadvisable to upset the advantages now derived from trade with other nations, for a possible, but by no means certain, advantage from colonial trade. It is argued that, upon the whole, commercial intercourse helps to preserve peace between the nations, while a war of tariffs would only increase hostile feelings which are already sufficiently pronounced. Nor do free traders think that a commercial union would improve the already good relations between England and her colonies, while it might possibly lead to friction; and they suggest that the varying types of colonies at different stages of development, and especially the presence of India within the Empire, would make the problem of a commercial federation a very difficult one. Closer intercourse with the colonies and, if possible, a federation of the States of the Empire are very desirable objects, which all British people would gladly see attained, but all are not agreed that the best way of arriving at this consummation is by means of commercial associations. It is quite certain, however, that the present generation of free traders does not view the colonies from the same standpoint as their predecessors did, nor does free trade to-day mean all that it meant in the days of *laissez-faire*.

Arguments  
for a  
British  
free-trade  
policy.

## CHAPTER XLIV.

### EDUCATION FOR EVERYBODY.

It was not until the eighteenth century that much attention was paid to the teaching of the children of the poor, and education began to be considered the right of everybody. In the earlier days of the Industrial Revolution, as has already been pointed out, the majority of the poor little children of the industrial areas began to work at a very early age and worked very long hours in mine and factory. Most of them were badly fed and clothed, and were brought up in ignorance and sometimes in vice. It was to do something to prevent this that Robert Raikes opened a Sunday school in Gloucester in 1780, and John Pounds started his ragged school at Portsmouth in 1818. The first Sunday schools were very different from those of to-day; the children attended for long periods in the morning and afternoon, and were taught reading and spelling as well as the catechism and the Scriptures.

Meanwhile, on the Continent, some zealous believers in education were giving practical proof of their faith by introducing new methods of instruction, education, and discipline into schools often newly founded by themselves. Of these, two of the

Pestalozzi  
and  
Froebel.



most famous were the Swiss, Pestalozzi, who opened schools for poor children, in which book-learning was replaced by observation, experience, and plenty of manual work; and the German, Froebel, who started, also in Switzerland, his famous *Kindergarten*, a garden wherein children were to be plants unfolding their abilities in an atmosphere of happy play. England took but little part in these developments. Her philosophers at the close of the eighteenth century were pleading for a national system of education, but the establishment of such a system was long delayed, and came only in the face of much opposition. When it did come it was hampered by the presence in the field of education of a number of voluntary agencies, religious and philanthropic, which had been doing the State's work for many years and naturally refused to be abolished. It was therefore necessary to build up the national system upon a basis of compromise which should respect these existing agencies and find a place for them in the national system.

Some of these agencies dated back to the seventeenth century when charity schools began to be founded to give poor children religious instruction, and some grounding in reading, writing, and arithmetic. The boys and girls wore distinctive dresses which marked them out as charity scholars, and attendance at church was generally a necessary part of the school work. Many of the schools of this type were under the direction of the *Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge*, which was founded

in 1699 to provide schools in which poor children could be instructed in the catechism and in reading and writing. The money required for these schools was provided by public subscription, and the people of the district in which the school was situated were expected to find a portion of the sum necessary for carrying on the school. Much good work was done as a result of the efforts of this society, though the greater portion of the children of England were still left unprovided for.

In 1798 a new departure took place. Joseph Lancaster, a young Quaker, opened a school for the poor children of Southwark, and soon had over a hundred children attending. As he could not teach all these children himself, he had to make use of the older children as monitors. He taught the lesson to these monitors first, and then got them to repeat it to groups of younger children, while he himself kept order and supervised the work generally. Such a system had already been advocated by Dr. Bell, an army chaplain working in India. Its only merit was its cheapness, for as a method it was purely mechanical and quite uneducational. Lancaster's work was taken up by a number of gentlemen, who founded the *British and Foreign School Society* to develop schools on the lines of Lancaster's. As they insisted on undenominational religious teaching, the Church took alarm, and founded an opposition society, the *National Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church*. This society made Dr. Bell its manager, and soon took

over the schools of the *Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge*. The two societies became rivals, and so added to the question of national education a religious difference, which has left its mark in much unfortunate religious controversy ever since.

Schools for the teaching of infants came partly as the result of the efforts of Robert Owen, a mill-owner of New Lanark. Instead of employing little children in his mills, Owen provided an infant school for their mental, moral, and physical education. His schoolmaster, James Buchanan, was afterwards transferred to a similar school at Westminster, and there inspired Samuel Wilderspin, who did much to extend the infant school system. In 1836 the Home and Colonial Society was founded to train teachers in the best methods of teaching infants in accordance with the principles of Pestalozzi.

The extensions of the parliamentary franchise during the nineteenth century made the education of the working classes a matter of still greater importance. It was necessary to see to it that the new rulers of the State were intelligent and capable. Hence between 1832 and 1870 education became by degrees subject to State control. Parliament voted sums of money in aid of education, and claimed in return the right of controlling the spending of the money. At first the voluntary societies were allowed to carry on the work and were helped by parliamentary grants, but Royal

Commissions on Education showed the need of still greater effort on the part of the State. The fact that the Government was granting money to the societies gave them some right of supervision of the teaching in the schools. Inspectors were appointed to advise the local school managers, and to watch over the spending of the grants. By additional grants in aid of buildings and furniture, by help in the training of better teachers to carry on the work, by the inspection of the schools, and by the issue of codes of regulations, the State officials managed to acquire a considerable measure of control. The inspectors, if not always educationists, were generally men of scholarship, culture, and wide sympathies; Matthew Arnold was an inspector from 1851 to 1886 and did much to encourage a more liberal education in the schools.

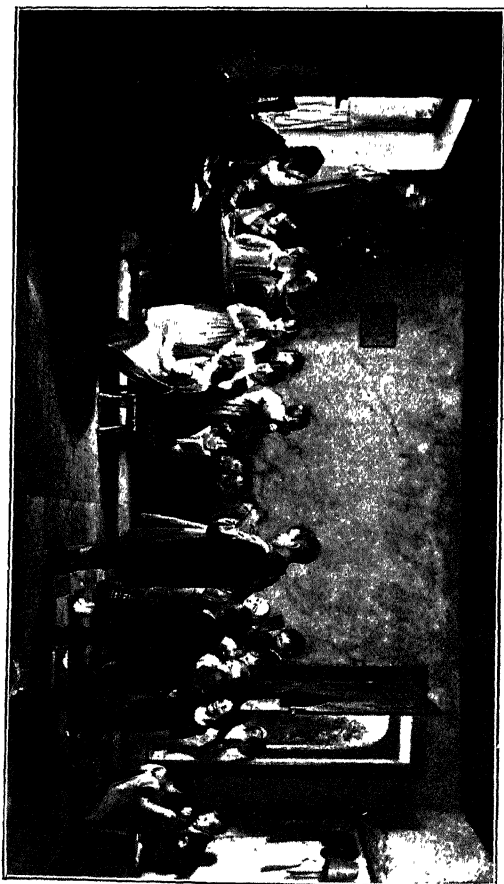
At first the teaching in the schools was very poor, though it was much better than the teaching in the large number of dame schools and private adventure schools which existed in many parts of the country. The teachers in these were in very many cases the failures in all sorts of callings, who had become teachers as a last resort and pretended to teach the children for very low fees in small and overcrowded rooms. Cripples, consumptives, bankrupt tradesmen, and out-door paupers, often ignorant themselves, were pretending to play the part of teachers. Something had to be done to improve the teachers, and training colleges for teachers were instituted. Finally, in 1847 a system of apprenticeship for young teachers was founded. The most promising

Better  
teachers  
wanted.

boys and girls in the school were chosen to help in the teaching during the day, and were then to receive special instruction out of school hours from their head teachers, in order to fit them to go to the training college after their apprenticeship was completed.

There was also much dissatisfaction at the poor work done by the scholars, and in 1861 Sir Robert Lowe, who was then the Vice-President of the Committee on Education, introduced a new system of grant payment which made these payments depend upon the results of an annual examination of the children in reading, writing, and arithmetic. This system had a very bad effect upon the schools. The teachers were worried and over-burdened as they struggled to make all their children pass the dreaded examination. The children suffered much from over-pressure. Worst of all, attention was concentrated on instruction rather than upon education, and the more liberal subjects of the curriculum, such as English and history, were neglected for a ceaseless grinding-in of the three subjects of examination.

Meanwhile the population was growing rapidly and a national system of education was becoming a greater and greater necessity. The Education Act, 1870. voluntary societies had done excellent work, but they were proving inadequate, and some people were objecting to the leaving of education in the hands of voluntary and religious bodies. There was therefore a demand for a national system, and in 1870 a new and famous Education



THE DAME SCHOOL.  
(From the Painting by T. Webster, R.A., in the National Gallery of British Art.)



Act was passed which made provision for the establishment of popularly-elected School Boards, with power to build and control schools if necessary and to levy a local rate in aid of them. This rate was not to exceed threepence in the pound, a limitation which was afterwards removed. The voluntary schools already in existence were allowed to continue, but there was to be a public elementary school, either Board or voluntary, under State inspection in every district. A new code of regulations and more liberal grants were provided, attendance was made compulsory, and the Boards were permitted to grant free admission to their schools if they pleased. There was trouble over the question of the religious teaching to be given in the new Board schools, and it was decided that any religious instruction given in these schools should be undenominational in its character.

After this, elementary education made real progress. Better schools with better teachers and better methods of teaching came into existence, both as voluntary and as Board schools. Much of the progress has been due to the wise guidance of educational affairs by capable Vice-Presidents of the Council of the type of Mundella, Hart Dyke, and Acland. The age of leaving school has been raised; education has been made free; the education of young teachers has been improved and is now associated in part with the work of secondary schools and universities; there is greater freedom given to the teachers to classify their scholars according to their attainments; codes



and instructions to inspectors are framed on more liberal lines ; the system of payment by results has been abolished. Physical, manual, and technical training are now being fostered ; care is now devoted also to the general health and physique of the scholars.

As these developments and improvements took place the voluntary schools found it very difficult to keep pace with the new requirements as compared with the Board schools, for the latter were receiving help from local rates, which had a tendency to increase year by year. This strain was relieved in 1902 by an Act which permitted the voluntary schools to share in the rates, abolished the School Boards, and placed the administration of education in the hands of the County and larger Borough Councils, with local supervision by boards of local managers. At the same time the province of elementary education was restricted to children under fifteen ; the best of the Board schools, known generally as Higher Grade or as Organised Science schools, and giving a liberal education to the children of the lower middle classes, were abolished ; new Higher Elementary or Central schools were instituted for children from twelve to fifteen years of age, and provision was made for the extension and State control of Secondary schools.

More remains to be done before our system is truly national. Some of the tendencies of the present time are the provision of greater facilities by scholarships and otherwise for the cleverest children to proceed to a university ;

the extension of the period of elementary education by compulsory attendance to the age of fifteen, supplemented by work at day or evening Continuation schools afterwards ; and a closer association of the curriculum with the needs of everyday life by a training in preparation for commerce and industry without neglecting the claims of those subjects which are more closely associated with the intelligent use of one's leisure.

We must now turn our attention to the question of higher education, which in the eighteenth century

Decay of the grammar schools,	was also in a very poor condition. The decay of the grammar schools which had begun in the preceding century was accentuated by the schoolmaster's persistent approval of the old formal classical training and his rooted objection to the introduction of any modern subjects. No matter what a boy's future career was to be, if he went to the grammar school he was compelled to go through the usual classical routine. When such useful modern subjects as French, arithmetic, and writing did manage to find a place in these schools, it was as inferior subjects taught by inferior masters out of school hours. Of course the schools suffered. When boys were intended for a business career their parents refused to send them to the schools at all. The result was the total neglect of the education of many youths, and especially of the oldest sons of the country gentry, whose life-work was to manage an estate and govern the countryside as justices of the peace. In the towns, where education was necessary for business pur-
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poses, private schools continued to develop, and taught the modern subjects necessary for a commercial career. The upper classes still made use of the private tutor in the education of their children; he went with the boys to the public school and university, and accompanied them on the grand tour of Western Europe which was the usual finish of their education. The grammar schools declined rapidly; masterships became sinecures held by unworthy and incapable persons; endowments were shamelessly abused.

The universities, too, were in just as bad a case. Higher schools and universities must always react and upon one another, for the schools universities. prepare many scholars for the universities, the universities send teachers to the schools. Few of the university students worked, many spent their time in sport and play, in drinking and gambling. Lectures were delivered to empty benches, the libraries were rarely used. It became impossible to fill the vacant scholarships. Yet at the same time the work of the Royal Society, most of whose members were university men, shows what a keen interest was being taken by scholars in the developments of modern science.

Recovery came gradually in the nineteenth century. Famous schoolmasters like Butler of Science and Shrewsbury and Arnold of Rugby education. breathed a new spirit into the schools. A Commission in 1818 proved the misuse of endowments and effected some reforms. Science was now so important to the life of the nation that its claims could no longer be ignored.

The scientists attacked the classical monopoly and suggested alternative systems upon modern lines. After 1850 Spencer, Huxley, and others laboured strenuously in this direction. Science found an increasing place in the curriculum of Cambridge, where mathematics and physics had been introduced by Newton in the preceding century; Oxford followed suit; the theological requirements for degrees were abolished in both universities in 1856. Reforms in the public and grammar schools worked in the same direction, and there was soon a modern side attached to each, with instruction in modern languages, mathematics, and sciences, though the classical side still predominated in the work of the schools.

Great developments in English higher education have followed. Parliament has obtained a right

Modern of interference, curricula have been universities. modified and the conditions of holding scholarships and fellowships remodelled; other universities have come into existence to fulfil a different function from those of older type. These new modern universities are situated generally in busy industrial centres, such as Liverpool, Newcastle, and Cardiff. They owe their origin in many cases to the benefaction of local citizens who originated them in the form of university colleges, and have grown up under the fostering care of the citizens. They are therefore in close touch with the educational, commercial, and industrial requirements of their neighbourhoods. The University of London, founded in 1836, at a time when many persons were debarred from the

older universities by their religious convictions, is now likely to become a great Imperial teaching university, supervising and co-ordinating the work of London's many colleges and polytechnics.

These latter institutions are the outcome of the progress in scientific and technical education which marked the middle of the last century. It included the formation of a college for scientific instruction, which became in 1890 the Royal College of Science. This is now an integral portion of London University, known as the Imperial College of Science and Technology. A Science and Art Department organised the teaching of those subjects throughout the country after 1857, by means of syllabuses, grants in aid, and examinations ; it is now a branch of the Board of Education.

Mechanics' institutes and technical classes for adults date from the work of Dr. Birkbeck at the Mechanics' commencement of the nineteenth century. The abolition of apprenticeship, etc. the developing use of art and science in manufacturing processes, the increasing division of labour, which keeps the workman confined to a small department and affords little opportunity of his acquiring any knowledge of the general principles upon which his work is based, have made better technical instruction absolutely necessary if England is to preserve her industrial supremacy. Colleges, institutes, and polytechnics have done something to supply this need, but the Royal Commission of 1881 showed that England was falling behind in commerce and industry from a

lack of fitting education. Since then efforts have been made to improve and develop technical education in all grades of colleges and schools.

Meanwhile secondary education has come under public control by the Act of 1902. The schools have been placed under Government inspection, with aid in the shape of grants. County Councils have built many new schools and have helped in the improvement of existing ones, and we are now progressing towards that national system of secondary education for which Matthew Arnold was pleading more than sixty years ago.

One of the most marked changes in higher education has been associated with the education of girls. The typical middle-class young lady of early Victorian times is depicted for us in the pages of Thackeray and Dickens. In those days private teachers and resident boarding houses were the only means of education for girls, and there was no adequate provision for the proper qualification of their teachers. Deportment and embroidery were all-important, music and dancing were more important than morals and religion. But in 1848 Queen's College for Women, London, was founded, and was quickly followed by Bedford College, Cheltenham College, and several good private schools. The examinations of the College of Preceptors, and the local examinations of Cambridge, and later of Oxford, were opened to girls as well as boys. The newly-formed University Colleges opened their classes to women as well as men. St. Andrews University instituted a higher examination for women with a

degree attached ; Girton College, Cambridge, was opened in 1872, and other colleges for women followed both at Cambridge and at Oxford. London University gave its degrees to women in 1879, and a little later Oxford and Cambridge also opened their examinations, though not their degrees, to women. There are now a large number of efficient girls' schools throughout the country, and women are competing successfully with men in many branches of industrial and professional enterprise which depend upon the possession of a liberal education.

Thus in almost all departments of educational work there was great progress during the last century, though much remains to be done before it can be said that England really possesses a complete and efficient system of national education.

## CHAPTER XLV.

### LITERATURE FOR THE MILLION.

ONE important feature of the history of English literature in the eighteenth century is the escape of the author from dependence upon a private patron, and his appeal to a wide general public of readers for fame and reward. Hitherto the limited number of readers and the difficulties of rapid production had made it impossible for a writer to depend for his living solely upon his pen. It had been a necessary, though irksome, part of his calling that he should find some person to help him, by money and by patronage, to obtain the leisure required for the production of works of genius. Chaucer associated himself with the Duke of Lancaster ; Shakespeare endured the patronage of the Earl of Southampton ; Dryden linked his fortunes with those of Charles II. and James II. It was only a Milton who could dwell apart and be content with his " fit audience though few " ; or a Bunyan writing with religious fervour to supply the needs of his fellow-pilgrims to the world which is to come.

One great break from the patron there had been, it is true. The Elizabethan dramatists had found it possible to write directly for a paying

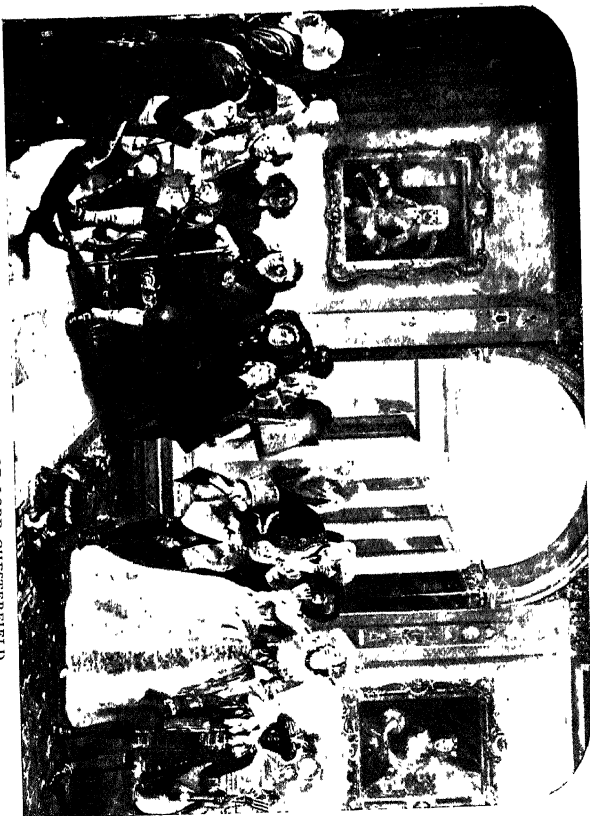


public, and so to avoid the patronage which Spenser found so irksome :

To fret thy soul with crosses and with cares,  
To eat thy heart through comfortless despairs ;  
To fawn, to crouch, to wait, to ride, to run,  
To spend, to give, to want, to be undone.

But, generally speaking, patronage remained an essential feature of English literature until the close of the seventeenth century. The transition is marked by the advent of the commercial publisher and bookseller, and by the prevalence of subscription. The author receives payment from the bookseller, but obtains also the joint support of a number of wealthy men who promise beforehand to take up a number of copies of his work, and thus assure him of a certain minimum return for his labours. It was under these conditions that Pope's *Translations of the Iliad and the Odyssey* appeared. But by the opening of the eighteenth century a new class of readers had come into existence in sufficient numbers to warrant that special attention would be paid to their requirements. The middle classes had now formed a standard of taste and culture of their own ; and their wealth made it well worth while to cater for them. Steele and Addison, among others, came into contact with them in London streets and coffee-houses, and received from them an inspiration to which they responded in their works.

At the same time the political importance of these middle-class readers led to a closer association of literature with politics. The necessity



DR. JOHNSON IN THE ANTEROOM OF LORD CHESTERFIELD.

(From the Picture by F. H. and R. J., by permission of the Trustees of the National Gallery of British Art)



of obtaining the political support of the new governing classes gave rise to much literary journalism and paved the way for the modern newspaper. Extensions of education caused also a demand for cheap books of useful information, which was met by popular writers of the Grub Street type, writers willing to turn an honest penny by supplying the needs of flourishing booksellers who were bent on catering for the requirements of the moment. The critic also came into existence to direct and mould the people's taste. The author abandoned the patron and embarked upon the stormy waters of public favour to sink or swim as the case might be. The lives of Johnson and Goldsmith furnish us with clear indications of the change that was taking place; indeed, no clearer indication could be desired than Johnson's famous letter to Lord Chesterfield, and this, we may notice, was associated with the publication of a popular English dictionary.

The first, and in many respects the most remarkable, proof of the change is the growth of the English novel. It was a form of writing which had been in evidence in our literature for some considerable time. The Elizabethans had enjoyed their *Euphues*, their *Arcadia*, and the many imitations of the Italian romances of chivalry which were provided for them. But these had never been able successfully to oppose the counter interest of the drama, and but little progress in novel-writing had ensued. Nor did the copies and adaptations

The  
growth  
of the  
English  
novel.

of the interminable French heroic romances of the Restoration period meet with much wider success.

Yet all through these centuries the ground-plan of the English novel was being laid. Character sketches of typical persons were produced freely in the early portion of the seventeenth century; though they failed from their lack of individuality, they stood for types rather than for individuals. In the second half of the century Dryden and others were perfecting a prose well fitted for narrative

Bunyan. purposes, and Bunyan was writing with all the pathos, the dramatic skill, and the homeliness of the *Pilgrim's Progress*. Then came Defoe with his close grip upon reality. His wide reading and his public career kept him in touch with what the average middle-class person was reading and enjoying. He could make fiction appear to be the truth. His *Robinson Crusoe* achieved a European reputation. The travels of

Swift. Gulliver, too, were enjoyed by many who cared little for Swift's political satire and allegory; and, finally, Steele and

Addison. Addison painted in the *Spectator* and other magazines a famous gallery of contemporary portraits of persons in various grades of society, whom they endowed with real personality and kept in close touch with everyday life.

The success of Addison, Defoe, and the rest showed that realistic pictures of the social life of the middle and lower classes of society were now acceptable to a wide circle of readers. It was no longer necessary that the hero and heroine should be of noble birth; the characters of ordinary

everyday people were proving to be well worthy of presentation, analysis, and comment. In a different age this might have resulted in a great dramatic outburst; but the grossness of the Restoration stage had caused a considerable portion of middle-class society to object strongly to the theatre, and this opposition to the stage persisted in spite of the genius of actors like Garrick and Mrs. Siddons.

What was wanted, therefore, was a genius of a different type, and this genius was found in the person of Samuel Richardson, a London master printer. Richardson had already done some unimportant work for the publishers, when he was requested by two of them to prepare a sort of *Complete Letter-Writer* which would furnish to uneducated persons, such as serving-maids and others, models of letter-writing for their everyday use. He undertook the task, and decided that it would be very helpful if the letters were united into a series by means of a connected story, which might also have a moral attached. The result was that his complete letter-writer was transformed into his novel *Pamela*, a masterpiece of fiction. Nor was this the only result, for Henry

Fielding, who had already written several burlesques for the stage, decided to parody Richardson's work. His effort, however, soon turned from jest to earnest, and his *Joseph Andrews*, a second great novel, was produced. These works were so successful that their authors continued in the same strain; Richardson in his *Clarissa Harlowe* and *Sir Charles Grandison*,

Fielding in his immortal *History of Tom Jones, a Foundling*, his *Jonathan Wild*, and his *Amelia*. Other writers copied their example. Of these the

most important were Smollett, who  
 Smollett. involved his heroes, *Peregrine Pickle*,

*Roderick Random*, and *Humphrey Clinker*, in breezy adventures based largely upon his own experiences ;

and Sterne, who gave free play to  
 Sterne. sentiment in his *Tristram Shandy* and

*Sentimental Journey*. The whole of the work of this remarkable group of writers covered a period of only about thirty years, and in that short time the novel had become supreme. It was now the recognised medium for the presentation of contemporary life and manners, joined with the author's own comments and reflections upon the changing scene ; its personages moved in a connected plot and helped in its development by their letters or conversations, or the interplay of their characters. Unfortunately the coarseness of the age in which they were written is reflected in these works, and prevents many people from reading them with enjoyment. Among the many authors who copied this new fashion in writing were Johnson and Goldsmith, and the latter's *Vicar of Wakefield* remains a favourite with all.

The early years of the nineteenth century witnessed the wonderful triumphs of Sir Walter Scott in the regions of historical romance,

The nineteenth-century novelists. while Jane Austen gave pleasing descriptions of English country society.

In Scott's particular field there was soon a large number of followers. Some, at any

rate, of the attempts of Ainsworth, James, Lytton, Marryat, and Lever are familiar to every schoolboy. More important than these works were the novels of Thackeray, Dickens, the Brontës, George Eliot, and other novelists. It is unnecessary here to mention even the titles of their works, and many of their characters and their sayings have become household words to us. Nor has the work of the novelist slackened with time. Meredith, Hardy, Stevenson, Blackmore, Besant, and a host of others have continued, and in some cases are still continuing, the tradition of the past.

The eighteenth century was above all things an age of prose, and its prose excellence is not confined to the production of the novel. With a wider reading public and the growth of professional journalism, came the essay and magazine article; the periodical essay is as much the mark of the first half of the century as the novel is of the second. There was an audience ready to receive articles on religion, literary criticism, and politics, playful satires on the faults and foibles of the age, and even occasional lay sermons. This audience was catered for by Defoe, Swift, Steele and Addison, and their friends, and later in the century by Johnson and Goldsmith. The essays were published in periodicals which ran for longer or shorter periods; the first, the *Tatler*, was mainly Steele's work, and was a penny paper issued three times a week. It was followed by the *Spectator*, which was issued daily and became, under the influence of Addison and Steele, a model for all the many succeeding ventures.



The essay proved so successful as to become a permanent form in English literature, with an almost infinite variety of forms and moods. In *Reviews*, such as the *Edinburgh* and the *Quarterly* of the early nineteenth century, it became keenly critical; it is more discursive but not less interesting in magazines of the type of the *London* and *Blackwood's*. The first generation of contributors included such giants as Christopher North, Lockhart, De Quincey, Leigh Hunt, and William Hazlitt; in the next are Carlyle, Macaulay, Froude, Ruskin, Arnold, and many more; they have been succeeded by Leslie Stephen, Morley, Lang, Stevenson, Pater, Henley, and a great number of other essayists, for the essay in all its varied forms has never ceased to charm a wide circle of readers.

Important attempts at other forms of prose-writing were also made. The divines who were

Historians, also writers include Butler and Berkeley  
 biographers, in the eighteenth century and Newman  
 etc. in the nineteenth.

History takes a foremost place as a critical study in the eighteenth century with Hume, Robertson, and Gibbon, and in the nineteenth with Macaulay, Carlyle, Froude, Freeman, and Green, to mention only a few. Philosophy is represented by Adam Smith, Burke, Bentham, Buckle, and J. S. Mill. Letter-writing was very popular, and memoirs of all kinds abounded in the eighteenth century. Boswell is the prince of biographers, though Lockhart and Forster run him close. Victorian literature, too, was largely influenced in all its departments by the great progress made in physical and biological science;

it has left its mark in the scientific writings of Spencer, Darwin, and Huxley.

But though the eighteenth century was thus the age of prose, the poetic inspiration was by no means extinguished. Early in the century the heroic couplet reached perfection in the work of Pope, and exhaustion in the poetry of some of his contemporaries. Their poetry was as artificial as their age ; in subject-matter it neglected nature and confined itself to man and society ; verse became the medium of philosophical essays ; correctness of form was often achieved at the expense of subject-matter ; the lyrical passion of the Elizabethans was held in abhorrence ; common-sense and correctness of poetic diction reigned supreme. Such a condition of things, however, was bound to produce a reaction, and this is apparent almost immediately. Prior and Gay wrote lighter verse ; Thomson painted in heroic couplets the scenery of his Scottish homeland ; Collins and especially Gray show a return to nature and to simplicity, and furnish evidence that the Elizabethans are still being read. The collection of ballads by Bishop Percy emphasises that interest is still taken in the past. The love of nature and the simple human passions is still more clearly visible in the work of Cowper ; Burns gave the best that Scotland has produced and is a pure romantic, though not the first of the class.

At the close of the century came a demand for freedom in literature and a reaction from the formalism of the earlier part of the century.

Wordsworth, Coleridge, Southey, and Scott, Byron, Shelley, and Keats, with many others, made England once more a nest of singing birds; and when their strains were exhausted the Brownings, Lord Tennyson, Arnold, and Clough continued to make poetry a conspicuous element in the literature of the nineteenth century. These poets expressed in various ways the characteristic features of the Victorian age: its scientific progress, its acceptance of the theory of evolution, its energy and vitality, its problems of faith, its love of the motherland, with also perhaps a somewhat shallow optimism born of the country's material success. With the death of Morris, Swinburne, and Meredith this famous period has closed, and a new inspiration seems needed to produce another race of poets comparable to the great ones who have gone before.

Another characteristic feature of the past two centuries has been the growth of newspaper enterprise. News-sheets and weekly pamphlets of news had been in existence since the early seventeenth century, but the first real newspaper was probably the *Oxford Gazette*, which was issued in 1665 and soon changed its title to the *London Gazette*. When journalism became a recognised profession the newspaper developed rapidly alongside the reviews and magazines. It was helped by the extensions of party government; the politician was glad to be able to call in the journalist to his aid; Defoe, Swift, Addison, and Steele were all

supporters of one or other of the parliamentary parties.

Defoe especially gave leading and strength to the modern press. He was a journalist *par excellence* ; his *Review* and other writings show his wonderful powers over the English language ; he was able to write in a straightforward style with sincerity, simplicity, and a greater regard for the truth than was usual at the time ; he always had his finger upon the public pulse and was ever ready to meet the public demand. Johnson was a contributor to the *Gentleman's Magazine*, which had been started in 1731. This and other journals published more or less accurate reports of parliamentary proceedings until the interference of the Commons forced the writers to make their reports deal apparently with such remote regions as Lilliput. Finally, in 1771 public opinion forced the Commons to allow its debates to be published.

Towards the close of the century attempts were made to check the growth of the newspaper. There was a stamp duty to pay on every copy. At first this had been imposed for purposes of revenue, and at the beginning of the reign of George III. had been a penny, by 1794 it had risen to 2½d., by 1797 to 3½d., in 1815 it stood at 4d. There was also a paper duty on the paper used, and a tax on each advertisement which finally reached 3s. 6d. It was possible to evade the stamp duty by not issuing the paper regularly, or by issuing it as a pamphlet which confined itself to political criticism and did not publish any current news. Cobbett, a famous journalist of the first half of

the nineteenth century, was able in this way to reduce the price of his *Weekly Register* from 1s. to 2d. In 1836 the duty was reduced to 1d. and in 1855 it was entirely abolished. At the same time better and more rapid methods of newspaper production and circulation came into being. *The Times* was first printed by steam in 1814 at a rate of 450 copies per hour; now its machinery is capable of producing 84,000 copies of much larger size in the same time. With the Crimean War came the war correspondent with his picturesque narratives of events at the front. Railways, the electric telegraph, and the submarine cable now combine to place the world's news upon our breakfast-tables; photography has been brought into service to give us the news of yesterday in a pictorial form; every interest is catered for by a special newspaper; every new movement or fresh departure has its own organ to represent it; evening newspapers enable us even to avoid the delay of waiting for the day's news until the following morning.

The spread of education during the nineteenth century was responsible not only for the development of the newspaper but also for the publication of many works of general information on widely different subjects. Honoured names in this connection are those of Charles Knight and William and Robert Chambers. Knight was the son of a Windsor bookseller and printer, and became interested in literature at an early age. He commenced business in London as bookseller and

publisher, and became associated with the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, a society in which Lord Brougham and the promoters of a national system of education were also keenly interested. Knight became the publisher of the society's works, often at his own personal risk. Among his many important publications are included his *Library of Entertaining Knowledge*, his *Pictorial History of England*, *Pictorial Bible*, and *Pictorial Shakespeare*, his *Penny Magazine* and *Penny Cyclopædia*. He found willing helpers in his work in several English scholars. The brothers Chambers rose from humble beginnings to a position of great importance in the Scottish publishing world, and did for the Scottish people what Knight did for the English. Their efforts to provide cheap and wholesome books led them to publish their celebrated *Edinburgh Journal*, their *History of the British Empire*, *History of the English Language and Literature*, *Encyclopædia of Universal Knowledge*, and their very valuable *Cyclopædia of English Literature*.

The great variety of taste engendered by a reading public as wide as the nation itself is now  
Present-day reading. visible in many ways. At its best it shows itself in a desire for the best works of current literature, with a leaning towards prose in preference to poetry. At its worst it is seen in the use of much trashy literature, and in a growing tendency to expect "snippets" of news and "boiled-down" information rather than to go to the trouble of proper reading for oneself. There is also, and naturally, a

widespread tendency to look upon reading as a means of relaxation, rather than as a source of pleasurable effort. The cheapness of books and their almost indefinite multiplication has also resulted in the habit of reading widely rather than deeply. Now, as always, the greatest writers have generally to be content with a narrow circle of readers, and rarely make the widest appeal. One of the most hopeful features of present-day reading is the reissue of the classics of all ages and climes in cheap and good reprints which find a wide and ready sale. It shows the presence in the nation of a large number of readers who still desire to benefit by the glories of past literature, and who realise with Milton that a good book is indeed the precious life-blood of a master spirit, embalmed and treasured up on purpose to a life beyond life.

## CHAPTER XLVI.

## HOW WE ARE GOVERNED.

THE constitutional settlements of 1688 and 1701, and the accession of the line of Sophia of Hanover Government in 1714, firmly established the principle by of parliamentary supremacy in the Parliament. government of England. With this supremacy was soon associated the principle of government by party. The Whig and Tory parties competed for the control of public affairs through the Parliament ; their places are now taken by Liberals and Conservatives, and the system remains. This settlement has existed without any great change for nearly a century and a half. Throughout that period, however, and subsequently, there have been many changes of detail, and changes in the amount of power possessed by each of the three components of parliament. The Lords and Commons gained power at the expense of the King after the accession of George I., for he was a German who could speak very little English and took little interest in purely English affairs. This parliamentary control, however, did not necessarily mean the control of the nation over its own affairs, for the franchise was given to only a very narrow electorate, much narrower in some ways than that of mediæval times. Many of the



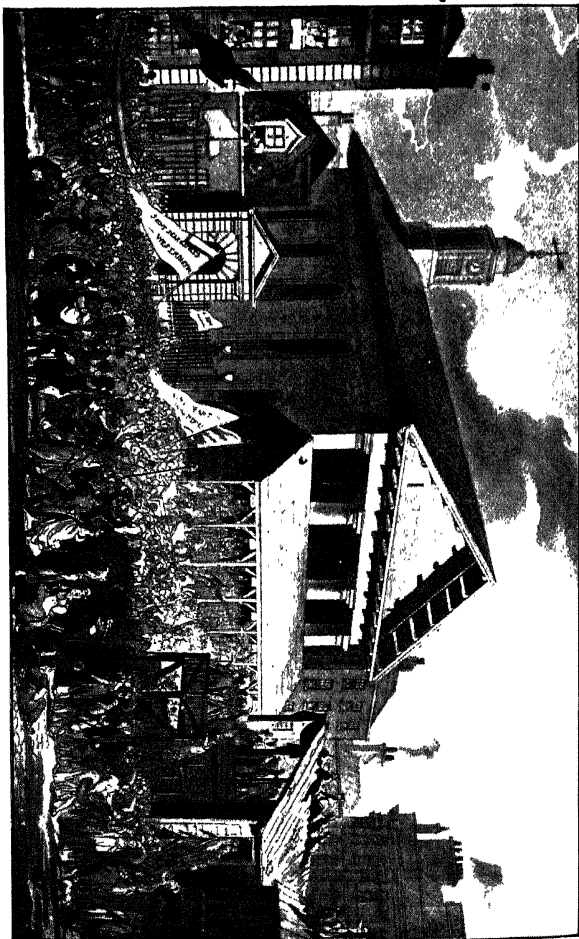
constituencies were merely pocket boroughs of few electors returning members as the King or the great landowning families dictated, and there was much bribery and corruption.

It was only by degrees that these faults were removed. The first step was taken by the

Reform Franchise Act of 1832, the great Reform Act, 1832. Bill which only became law after great pressure of public opinion. This Act gave a vote to all householders of £10 rental in the towns, and to freeholders, copyholders, leaseholders for sixty years to the annual value of £10, and occupiers paying a yearly rental of £50 in county areas. It disfranchised fifty-six boroughs of less than 2000 inhabitants and took away one member each from thirty others whose population was less than 4000. The seats thus obtained were divided among the new industrial towns; five London boroughs were formed; Manchester, Birmingham, Leeds, and nineteen other large towns were to return two members each; sixty-five additional seats were granted to the counties. This gave increased power to the middle classes, and prepared the way

for further reforms. An Act in 1867 extended the franchise to all rate-payers and to lodgers paying a yearly rental of at least £10 in the towns; another in 1884 made the county franchise like that of the boroughs. In the next year a Redistribution Act altered the areas of representation and the numbers of representatives in accordance with the new distribution of population. This last extension transferred English political power

Franchise  
Acts,  
1867 and  
1884.



WESTMINSTER ELECTION (ABOUT 1806).  
(From an *Aquatint*, after Rowlandson)

to the democracy from the middle classes, who had held it since 1832. Other measures such as the Ballot Act, 1872, and Acts to strengthen the laws against bribery and corrupt practices had been working in the same direction.

The steady increase in the representative nature of the House of Commons was associated with important developments in the system of government by party. The Revolution of 1688 had established the principle that the Ministers, whose duty it was to organise and carry on the affairs of the nation at home and abroad, should be responsible to parliament for their acts. An inner circle of the most important of these Ministers developed as a committee of the Privy Council. This committee is popularly known as the Cabinet. At its secret meetings the affairs of the nation are discussed, and difficulties arising between various departments of government are adjusted. At first the King presided over these deliberations, but George I. never did so, and since 1714 no king has been present at Cabinet meetings. The meetings are presided over by the head of the Ministry, the Prime Minister, as he has been termed since the days of Walpole, though the title did not receive official recognition till 1905.

Under a system of government of this type all the Ministers must belong to one party, or to a group or coalition of parties working in agreement. As their position depends on the support of a majority of the members

of the House of Commons, they must be members of the party which has most representatives in that House for the time being. William III., indeed, tried to establish the principle of a Ministry of all the best men irrespective of party, but such a system proved impossible. Hence the King chooses the Prime Minister in accordance with the desires of the people as expressed in the elections, and the Prime Minister then chooses the other Ministers, and they are appointed to office by the King. The Prime Minister sends accounts of the proceedings in the Cabinet meetings and in parliament to the King. Ministers hold office subject to the support of parliament; a vote of censure or other adverse vote may cause the resignation of the Ministry. All ministerial actions are subject to the close scrutiny of both Houses of Parliament.

At the head of the State is the King. He exercises a very important influence upon the affairs of the nation. He forms a permanent link amid the succession of changing Ministers, and thus helps to preserve continuity of policy where this is advisable or necessary. His knowledge of public affairs and of the inner workings of Cabinets makes him the possessor of many State secrets, and enables him to give good advice and wise guidance. He can also exercise a moderating influence in parliamentary affairs. At the same time he is the representative of the nation and the link connecting the various colonies. All Ministers hold office under him, and justice is administered in his name. He has the right of veto in legisla-

Position  
of the  
King.

tion, for his assent is necessary before a Bill can become law, but this right has never been exercised since 1707, and may perhaps be looked upon as now obsolete. He has also a right of veto over colonial legislation.

The House of Lords is composed of 641 members. They include the English peers of the realm ; the two Archbishops and twenty-four of the Bishops of the English Church ; sixteen Scottish and twenty-eight Irish

peers elected by their fellow-peers to represent them ; and four Law Lords chosen for conspicuous legal ability. These last help in the very important work of the House as a judicial Court of Appeal for all parts of the Empire. Every Ministry has among its important members a number of peers who represent it in the House of Lords. In earlier times the powers of the Baronage were very great. They have now been weakened considerably as compared with those of the Commons, who can claim to be a directly-elected body, and the Commons has always been very jealous of any encroachment upon its privileges, and especially upon its control of taxation. The utility of the House of Lords lies in its power to check hasty and ill-considered legislation, either by amendment, or by rejection, in order to ensure that the electorate may have another opportunity of expressing an opinion upon the matter. This power has led at times to differences between the two Houses. Sometimes a compromise has cleared away the difficulty ; sometimes the threat to create enough new peers to change the vote of the House has sufficed. The

Parliament Act of 1911 has now restricted the powers of the Lords by enacting that if a money Bill is not passed unamended by the Lords within a month of its receipt by them, it may become law without their approval ; while any other Bill passed by the Commons may become law without their consent if it is sent to them in three successive sessions, provided that two years elapse between the first and the third of those sessions.

The House of Commons contains 670 members, each of whom is paid a salary of £400 per annum.

The House of Commons. Any number of candidates may offer themselves to a constituency for election provided that they are duly nominated by some of the electors. A returning officer is appointed to give notice of the election, to receive nominations, and to be responsible for the conduct of the election if voting proves necessary. The electors vote by ballot, and the candidate receiving the greatest number of votes becomes the member of parliament for the constituency. Stringent regulations govern the conduct of the election, and the amount of money which may be spent in connection with it. Persons who break any of these regulations may be unseated on petition.

A new House of Commons must be elected at least once in every five years. It fixes its own times of meeting and adjournment, but certain Acts, which have to be passed yearly, ensure that parliament will meet once in every year. Its debates are controlled by a chairman called the Speaker. Very much work is done by parliament

Method  
of  
parlia-  
mentary  
procedure.

which cannot be described here. In the case of matters of public importance the procedure is as follows. The matter is introduced into one or other of the two Houses in the form of a Bill, that is, a draft or copy of the proposed new law. This introduction of the Bill is termed its first reading, and is generally a formal matter. After a time the Bill is read a second time, and a vote is taken, which gives approval or otherwise to the general principle underlying the Bill. If the vote is a favourable one, the Bill is considered by a committee of the House, which, in important matters, consists of the whole of the members of the House. At this stage it is considered line by line and clause by clause, and is altered in detail. It is then reported to the House as amended, and finally read a third time. Then it is sent to the other House and is subjected to the same procedure. If alterations are made by the second House, the Bill must go back to the House which originated it, and agreement must be arrived at or the measure is dropped. When agreement has been reached the Bill is ready for the royal assent.

Both Houses possess many privileges. These include freedom of speech, and right of access to the sovereign, which may be exercised by the peers individually, and by the Commons collectively through the Speaker. One jealously-guarded privilege of the Commons is that they alone have the right to originate Bills which impose taxes or involve the spending of public money. Moreover, votes of money must originate with the

Privileges  
of  
Members  
of  
Parliament.

Ministers for the time being, and must be considered by the Commons in a special manner. One of the Ministers, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, makes a statement of the money required, and the ways in which it is proposed to raise it and spend it. The amounts to be allotted to the different departments are then considered by the House, acting as a Committee of Supply. When these amounts have been agreed upon, the House becomes a Committee of Ways and Means and considers how the money shall be obtained. These resolutions of the committees are then embodied in an Appropriation Bill, which is passed through the Houses in the usual way, except that this Bill cannot be altered by the Lords. Great care is taken that no money is spent except for purposes agreed upon by parliament, and a careful audit of the accounts is made and presented to it every year. The accounts of each financial year are carefully kept separate; and a considerable portion of the money expended has to be re-voted year by year.

The various State departments are represented in parliament by members of the Ministry; the heads of the most important departments form the Cabinet. The finances of the nation are in the hands of a Treasury Board, which includes the First Lord of the Treasury, an office often held by the Prime Minister, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who is responsible to parliament for the nation's finances. The departments of Home Affairs, Foreign Affairs, the Colonies, India, and War are severally controlled by Secretaries of State. They





are helped by Parliamentary Under-Secretaries, and each department has also a Permanent Secretary and a staff belonging to the Civil Service. Most of the staff hold their positions as the result of competitive examination.

The Home Secretary is responsible in matters of justice, control of the police and of prisons, and Secretaries the inspection of various dangerous of State. trades and occupations. He is also the usual channel of communication between the King and his people. The Secretary for Foreign Affairs controls our negotiations and general intercourse with foreign Powers, and the work of our ambassadors, consuls, and other representatives in foreign countries. The Secretary for the Colonies attends to all matters which arise between the home Government and the colonies. The Secretary for India presides over the Council of India, a body of about fourteen members, most of whom have been closely associated with Indian administration, and with whom the Secretary must work in concert. They are responsible to parliament and to the nation for the government of India. The Secretary for War has control of the army. He is aided by an Army Council of four military members, each with a special aspect of military organisation to attend to, a Parliamentary Under-Secretary, and a Financial Secretary. This Council, under the Secretary, controls the various branches of our military system: the regular army, the reserve, the territorial force, and the militia if it should be embodied, by virtue of the Ballot Act, in a time of imminent national

danger or of great emergency. Very similar is the position of the First Lord of the Admiralty, who is responsible for naval matters and is assisted by an Admiralty Board of four Naval Lords with different branches of naval work to attend to, a Civil Lord, a Parliamentary Secretary whose duties are mainly financial, and a Permanent Secretary who carries on the work from Board to Board.

The Law Officers form a very important branch of every Ministry. They include the Lord High Chancellor of Great Britain, who is the head of the judiciary, and therefore appoints judges of all grades and justices of the peace. He is also a judge in the Appeal Courts, and has many other important duties. He acts as Chairman of the House of Lords during its sittings, and is now, therefore, always a peer of the realm. The principal legal adviser of the Government is the Attorney-General, a barrister of good standing, who is responsible for the legality of governmental actions, and counsel for the Crown in the law courts when there are cases in which the Government is concerned. The Solicitor-General is a second legal officer with similar duties.

Some of the more modern departments consist theoretically of committees of the Privy Council under the chairmanship of a President, but in actual practice the committee rarely or never meets, and the President exercises sole authority and is responsible to parliament. Thus the President of the Local Government Board and his department deal with many

questions of local government such as the relief of the poor and public health. They control and advise the local authorities, approve or disapprove their schemes, and audit their accounts. The Board of Trade has the control and regulation of traffic by land and sea, of all matters connected with commerce, and of many matters associated with labour. It issues journals containing much valuable information on various matters of trade with many useful tables of statistics. The Board of Education deals with all matters associated with the regulation and inspection of schools and education generally. The duties of the Board of Agriculture and Fisheries are sufficiently suggested by its name. Other members of the Ministry include the Postmaster-General, who controls the many enterprises of the General Post Office, a great State monopoly employing a large number of workers and producing a yearly profit to the nation; and the First Commissioner of Works, who is responsible for the royal parks and palaces and for some other Government buildings. A few posts such as that of Lord Privy Seal are easy posts with Cabinet rank; they enable a Ministry to retain the valuable advice of veterans who could no longer undertake the strain of more difficult offices.

Scottish and Irish affairs are associated with their own special departments. Special Secretaries represent these departments in parliament. These countries have also their own law officers. In Ireland, too, there is a Lord-Lieutenant who acts as the special representative of the King, after the

manner of the Viceroys or Governors of the colonies and India.

The Judges, whose duty it is to administer the law, form the Supreme Court of Judicature.

The Judiciary. They are irremovable except on a joint petition of both Houses of Parliament, and this petition must show clearly the ground of their misconduct. Their duties are defined by the Judicature Act, 1875. Appeals are possible from their decisions, and these appeals may finally be carried to the House of Lords. Different courts deal with different matters, and the judges of these different courts are specially selected with this end in view. A judge must be a barrister of ten years' standing before appointment, or, in a Court of Appeal, of fifteen years' standing, or a judge of one year. Our English judges and courts of law are famous throughout the world for their probity. The work is extremely important, for it involves the explanation and application of the Acts of Parliament passed by the legislature. Three or four times in every year the judges go on circuit through the country to hear at the Assizes serious cases reserved for them from the lower courts. These lower courts include the County Court, which is an inferior court of appeal and civil court presided over by a County Court judge; Quarter Sessions, in which two or more justices of the peace, or in some boroughs a magistrate known as the Recorder, hear less serious cases than those of the Assize court; and courts of Petty Sessions, where two or more justices of the peace dispose of trifling cases, and send others to Quarter Sessions or

Assizes, as the case may be. Special regulations govern these inferior courts within the London area.

Besides the national government there is also an elaborate system of English local government; indeed, the revival of local government has been one of the important features of modern England. This revival commenced in 1835, when a Municipal Reform Act cleared away many of the grossly-misused privileges of the old corporate towns, and enacted that the boroughs should be governed by Town Councils consisting of councillors elected by the ratepayers, and aldermen elected by the councillors. The boroughs have made good progress under this new system of local government. The control of the counties remained in the hands of the justices of the peace at quarter sessions. New and important duties were conferred upon these authorities, and new authorities were called into being as new Acts of Parliament gave local control of matters of health, sanitation, poor-law administration, and so on.

Finally, in 1888 a Local Government Act divided the country into 63 administrative county areas with a County Council to govern each. The members of the Councils were to consist of councillors elected by the ratepayers, including women ratepayers, every three years, and aldermen elected by the councillors for six years, half of whom were to retire every three years. Many important duties were transferred to the Councils, including control of the police, care of the insane, mainten-

ance of roads, etc., and, since 1902, control of education. The London County Council especially is a very important organ of government. The self-government of county areas was further extended in 1894 by a Parish Councils Act which gave Parish Councils, or, in small villages of less than three hundred persons, Parish Meetings, to the country villages, with powers of control over village affairs. Rural and Urban District Councils were also formed to deal especially with such questions as the relief of paupers and sanitation. In other areas Boards of Guardians control poor-law administration. All local government is under the central control of one or other of the departments mentioned above.

Besides these various forms of English government the question of government of the Empire has also come very much to the front in recent years. Ministers are appointed to be responsible to parliament for the colonies and India, and Viceroys or Governors represent the King in all the colonies. The self-governing colonies, too, have their representatives or Agents-General in London, to watch over the interests of the colonies they represent. The needs of the other colonies are looked after by Crown Agents appointed by the Colonial Secretary. A Committee of Imperial Defence has also been constituted recently. It consists of the Prime Minister, the Secretary for War, the First Lord of the Admiralty, the Secretary for India, a leading member or members of the parliamentary Opposition, and some of the leading

The  
govern-  
ment of  
the  
Empire.

naval and military authorities. It may also call to its counsels any persons whose presence may be deemed advisable. In this way continuity of policy in this important matter can be maintained in spite of changes of Ministers.

Imperial Conferences, formerly termed Colonial Conferences, are also held, as opportunity serves, under the chairmanship of the Colonial Secretary, to discuss matters of Imperial and colonial import. Such conferences cannot at present give any legal standing to their decisions, but they afford facilities for interchange of views and ventilation of grievances, and may be preparing the way for an Imperial Parliament of the Federated States of the British Empire.



## CHAPTER XLVII.

### MODERN LIFE IN TOWN AND COUNTRY.

A COMPARISON of the conditions of life to-day with those of the England described in the early chapters

The past of this work helps us to realise the *versus* the wonderful changes that have taken present. place. The most remarkable alterations, however, have been crowded into the last hundred and fifty years ; and while the changes are sufficiently evident, and there has been progress, too, upon the whole, it is to some people a debatable point whether the alterations have been altogether productive of happiness. There is always a tendency for age to look back with regret upon the past. The narrow imperfect life of the villein was little more than a mere unvaried monotony, and it is quite inconceivable that any modern Englishman would be willing to return to that condition of life, or even to that of the poor man of the early nineteenth century. Nor is it likely that the sometimes vaunted happiness of the Elizabethans would prove very satisfying to him. Greater happiness there may not be, greater freedom there undoubtedly is ; and freedom brings with it a wider outlook and a desire for still greater freedom which expresses itself in discontent with present conditions.

One feature of these later days has been the remarkable increase in the wealth of a portion of the community. The great land-owners who represented the wealth of England three hundred years ago were poor in comparison with to-day's wealthiest men. Some of these older territorial families, though, have themselves benefited considerably by the change, through holding land in rapidly-developing industrial areas that could be let on lease for building purposes, or through the presence of minerals upon their estates. Opportunities of saving and investment have also been extended to all classes of people; in fact, the encouragement of thrift was quite a feature of nineteenth-century social work. Savings banks were instituted to afford increased facilities for the deposit of small savings; and in 1861 a Government bank of this type commenced operations in association with the Post Office. Building societies, too, have developed, and have proved a common field of investment, sometimes with disastrous results to the investors in them. The most important of all these movements has been the growth of the Friendly Societies, which provide for the relief and maintenance of their members, during sickness or other infirmity and in old age, by means of the voluntary subscriptions of the members themselves. These institutions have been in existence since the close of the seventeenth century, and since 1793 they have received the encouragement and protection of the State. But though wealth

has been thus increasing there is still very much of poverty and want, as a previous chapter has shown. The poor are still with us, and the problem of poverty remains as one of the most serious problems of the twentieth century.

There is now probably a greater mixing of the various grades of society than was formerly the case, though there is still room for improvement in this connection, and many persons lament the loss of the older more intimate relations between master and workman, and between landlord and tenant. During recent years there has been a real desire on the part of the richer section of society to acquire a more intimate, and therefore a more sympathetic, knowledge of the lives of the poor. At times this has shown itself in outbursts of "fashionable sympathy" such as the slumming craze of the eighties ; it shows itself more truly in the work of the university settlement in poor districts, in much philanthropic work quietly but carefully performed, and in parliamentary action brought about by the careful researches and inquiries of genuine philanthropists.

The general tone and manners of the people have risen and are still rising ; the coarseness and brutality of the eighteenth century are disappearing ; there is evidence on all sides of greater self-respect and self-restraint. But though the moral standard has been rising, there has been at times a weakening of the hold of religion upon the people of all social grades. One of the worst features of our modern life is the

extravagance, the love of excitement, and the empty frivolities of the "idle rich."

No greater change has taken place than the change in the status of women. The young lady of Thackeray's novels is well-nigh inconceivable to-day. Girls now have the same educational facilities as boys; women are taking their place beside men in many of the professions. Public affairs are benefited by their presence upon governing bodies; they are also serving as inspectors and officials in many branches of administration. The demand made by them for the right to vote in parliamentary elections, and the steps they have taken to obtain that right, are symbols of a much wider claim, and are remarkable features in the history of the opening years of this century.

Many aspects of present-day life bear witness to the democratic tendencies of the age. They are evident, for example, in the matter of dress. Men have now generally discarded those distinctions of dress which were dear to their forefathers. Quality of material and correctness of cut, rather than peculiarities of shape and colour, are the distinctive marks of higher society; in all classes there is a liking for an almost puritanic soberness of shape and hue. Fashion in men's dress now changes more slowly, and generally confines itself to such details as the shape of hats and the colour of hose or ties. Women's dress is still sufficiently subject to the caprices of fashion, and changes of fashion tend to work by extremes. Tight-lacing gave place in the

fifties to the crinoline, so reminiscent of the hoop. Then came gaily-flowered muslin dresses of the Dolly Varden type, followed by the Princess robe. Now the full-skirted dresses of a few years ago have been replaced by tightly-fitting dresses and hobble skirts. But fashion's dictates are much less tyrannous than they formerly were, except with a section of society. Recent years have witnessed many excellent reforms in dress, some of which have been due to the interest that women take in athletics, and there is a more general tendency to study comfort rather than appearance. The reader who is interested in the changes of fashion should consult the pages of the illustrated papers, and especially the pages of *Punch*.

The extensions of commerce have been responsible for remarkable alterations in our food supply.

Food. There is now a great variety of food material which was quite unknown to our ancestors. Food, too, is, generally speaking, cheap and plentiful; though recent years have been years of rising prices which show at present but little tendency to stop. Food is now brought from many parts of the world to our markets in a frozen condition, or dried, or packed in air-tight tins. Tea, coffee, and cocoa are within the reach of all. Fresh and varied fruit is plentiful at all seasons of the year. Vegetables of all kinds are grown at home or imported from other countries. The cheapness of sugar leads to a great consumption of this useful article, and makes jams and preserved fruits a common article of diet. Markets in all the larger centres of population, and especially

in London, attend to the distribution of these provisions. The Government intervenes to protect the customer from false weights and measures, and from the many cunning adulterations of food-stuffs.

There has also been much progress in housing, a very important matter, for the growth of the towns at the expense of the country is

Housing. one of the serious problems of the age. In 1851 the town population had become 50 per cent. of the whole, now it is at least 78 per cent. In the first half of the nineteenth century, probably one of the most wretched eras for the poor in the whole of our history, architecture and town-planning were at a very low ebb. There are few more depressing sights to-day than the long, ugly, monotonous streets of that period, with their unbroken lines of uninspiring houses built right up to the pavement in front, and with little or no open space at the back. Nor has the day of mean streets and squalid slums come to an end, though something is now being done to effect an improvement.

The second half of the nineteenth century was especially an age of sanitation. The streets are now cleaner, better lighted, and better paved than ever before. Refuse of all kinds is quickly removed from them, and from the houses. Water of good quality is provided in the towns in sufficient quantities for all ordinary purposes. Baths are a usual feature of the newer houses ; neglect of this in the past is being atoned for by the erection of public baths and wash-houses. Parks and open spaces help to purify

the air of the towns, and serve as playgrounds for old and young. The improvements in medical science have been most marked. Notification of infectious diseases is now compulsory, and some of the worst of them have nearly disappeared. There are infirmaries and hospitals in all the larger towns, many of them supported almost entirely by voluntary contributions. Efficient systems of police and fire brigades guard the lives and property of the people ; and insurances may now be effected against all kinds of risks. Government regulations, too, do much in these directions in the case of workers in dangerous trades and occupations.

Many things remain to be done. The growth of towns is tending to produce a change in the calibre of the nation, though probably not to the marked extent that some persons suppose. Modern facilities of transport of various kinds, and workmen's tickets, are doing something to prevent the excessive centralisation of people in the largest towns. Garden cities are becoming a feature of suburban England. Modern substitutes for steam as a source of power, such as gas and oil, and especially electricity with its capabilities of easy distribution over wide areas, may lead to a decentralisation of labour and a return to a more domestic system of industry. Yet the factory system has the advantages of a ready and effective supervision, and at present it is in home industries that the worst conditions of labour exist and the lowest rates of wages are paid.

Lessened hours of labour have been accompanied



THE POOL OF LONDON.  
(from the *Painting by Vicat Cole, R.A.*)





by an increase in sport and amusements generally, and education has led to an improvement in their type. It is often urged that the Amusements. English people pay too much attention to their sport to the detriment of their business. One unfortunate feature is the tendency for sport to become a spectacle instead of a health-giving recreation. Some forms of sport, too, are associated with much undesirable betting, for gambling in many forms is still a favourite leisure occupation of the English people. Parks and recreation grounds offer recreation and relaxation to all classes. Tennis, cricket, football, bowls, rowing, and other games are freely indulged in. Music is also provided. Museums and art galleries offer facilities for education, and these are now being improved by the presence of guides and lecturers. Free libraries bring good literature within the reach of all. Lectures of all kinds may be attended at small cost. The tone of the theatre and music-hall has been raised considerably, and both are well patronised. In all these directions the public taste has improved. Crazes of amusement take hold of the people at times; the latest is the cinema with its moving-picture dramas, the previous one was the roller-skating rink. But these varied forms of relaxation belong to the town rather than the country, where amusement takes the form of healthy outdoor games, walking, and gardening.

Holidays are a feature of the age. The motor-car, motor-cycle, and humbler bicycle have brought the country within reach of the townspeople, not

always to the advantage of the countryside. Cheap excursion trains bring all parts of England and some parts of the Continent within the reach of many. Holiday periods, too, are spent in wiser fashion than of old, for there is now much less drunkenness, and temperance movements have made considerable progress. The strictness of Sunday observance of the mid-Victorian era has been considerably relaxed, in favour of the opening of galleries and museums and the presence of music in the parks.

The ease and rapidity of modern methods of communication have, indeed, brought the country

Modern into close touch with the town. Progress in education, too, has been made in rural districts. The newer methods of agriculture demand greater intelligence on the part of the labourers. Many departments of science have come to the aid of farming operations, and modern agriculture tends to become more and more scientific. Smith of Deanston taught the importance of deep drainage and helped forward the more successful use of heavy soils; Davy and succeeding chemists have elaborated the use of artificial manures specially suited for different types of land and different kinds of crops. Inventors have produced much excellent machinery which is now in common use. But for ten years after 1874, when the full effects of the free-trade movement were first keenly felt, there was great agricultural depression. Farming is now recovering from this depression, but there are still serious problems to be faced in rural England. The

glamour of town life drains the country of much of its most intelligent manhood ; machinery has helped to displace the labourer ; housing accommodation in some places leaves much to be desired. The chief developments of the future would seem to lie in the direction of dairy rather than arable farming, and in the intensive culture of vegetable crops. There seems to be a growing tendency once more towards smaller farms, and towards small holdings of from one to fifty acres. Various Acts of Parliament have encouraged the granting of allotments to the agricultural labourers. Co-operation in preparing and marketing agricultural produce would seem to be an essential associate of small farms and small holdings ; much good work in this connection is being performed in Ireland. Education, too, is an important item, and agricultural schools and colleges are coming into existence, while the universities are taking great interest in agricultural education and research.

The town, too, has its problems, and they are grave enough. We have already spoken of the  
 Problems of town life. great problems of poverty and unemployment ; it is a serious fact that in spite of all improvements, and in spite of the marked rise in the standard of life, over twelve millions of our people remain upon the verge of poverty. Liberty, too, has been productive of restlessness rather than contentment. Emigration removes yearly from England a number of its best workmen ; immigration replaces them by less desirable aliens. There is also a marked decline in the birth-rate. Labour problems and labour

wars are still with us. Attempts have been made to solve these labour difficulties by means of profit-sharing, in which an employer agrees to give his workpeople a share in the profits of the undertaking, in addition to their usual wages ; or by labour co-partnership, in which a share of the profits comes to the worker and is allowed to accumulate as part of the capital of the business. But all industries are not equally suited to these methods, nor is the joint position of employee and shareholder always a workable one.

Hence the method of co-operation of workers without any employer but themselves has been

The practised now for many years. This co-operative idea of co-operative industry was a movement. favourite one of Robert Owen and the early socialists, and attempts were made to found socialistic colonies on a co-operative basis. It was a different method which finally made co-operation a workable scheme. In 1844 a number of Rochdale cotton-workers decided to get rid of the retail dealer by buying goods for sale among themselves at ordinary prices, and dividing the profits after the payment of expenses in proportion to the purchases made. These Rochdale Equitable Pioneers were the founders of the great Co-operative Societies of to-day. There are many other important features in their work besides the elimination of the middleman. Goods must be of good quality ; payments must be made at the time of purchase ; provision is made for spending a portion of the profits on education. The principle of co-operative trading has been copied by the middle

classes in their large stores. Co-operative production has never been as successful as co-operative distribution, but is now an important feature of the labour world, and goods are made by co-operators for sale in their own and in other shops. It may be that the future will see extensions of this method, with readjustments of the relations of employer to employed along similar lines.

Another feature of the co-operative movement which is one of the problems of the age is the

Trusts  
and  
combina-  
tions.

tendency towards combination on the part of both producers and distributors of goods. This has led to unions of manufacturers and distributors into large Trusts and other combinations, with corresponding facilities of cornering the market and thus raising prices. Theoretically the reductions effected in working expenses and the better methods of production following combined action should lower the price ; in practice the tendency is for the Trust by its lower prices to destroy outside competitors, and then with a monopoly of the market to raise the prices above their previous level. Large stores with many branches are in this way crowding out the smaller retail shopkeepers in the work of distribution.

To cope with these and other difficulties many remedies are proposed. One section of the community demands a reconstruction of society upon a socialistic basis ; another sees hope in the united action of all parts of the Empire ; another would find a remedy in a redistribution of the burden of taxation. Meanwhile there is growing interference

on the part of the Government in all the affairs of life, and it will be well, in keeping with the whole history of the nation, if the solution is found in gradual alterations of the laws of the land to meet the new conditions of life, and not in any drastic alteration of existing society.

## A CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF EVENTS.

A.D.

- 43-410. Britain under Roman control, with  
     (*a*) Development of trade with the Continent.  
     (*b*) Improvements in agriculture.  
     (*c*) Growth of towns.  
     (*d*) Improvements in means of communication.
- c. 250. Raids of Teutonic pirates on the East coast become frequent.
- 449-577. Settlement of various Teutonic tribes in England, with  
     (*a*) Formation of Jutish, Saxon, and Anglian kingdoms.  
     (*b*) Decay of the Roman towns.
- 577-827. Struggle for supremacy among the English kingdoms, resulting in the final victory of Wessex under Egbert, 827.
597. St. Augustine introduces Christianity into the south of England.
635. St. Aidan forms a monastic settlement at Lindisfarne.
664. Synod of Whitby. Adoption of the Roman system of church government in the English Church.
- 673-735. Life of Bede, historian of the Church.
- c. 680. Death of the poet Cædmon.
- 735-804. Life of Alcuin of York, adviser of Charlemagne.
797. First landing of the Danes or Northmen.
855. The Danes winter in England. The beginning of the Danish settlement.
- 871-901. Reign of Alfred the Great.
879. Treaty of Wedmore, giving the Danes possession of England north of Watling Street.
912. The Northmen settle in Normandy.
- 925-940. Reign of Athelstan. He decreed that every merchant who made three journeys oversea with a ship and cargo of his own should be deemed thane-worthy, that is, should rank as a noble.
980. Commencement of the Danish conquest of England.
991. Danegeld instituted.



## 686 CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF EVENTS

A D.

- 1017-1042. Danish kings rule England :
  - (a) Trade flourishes and develops.
  - (b) Canute forms a company of House Carls ; the first English standing army.
- 1066-1071. Conquest of England by Normans under William I.
- 1084. Reimposition of Danegeld.
- 1086. The Domesday Survey completed.
- Moot of Salisbury. All landholders take oath of allegiance to William I.
- c. 1050. Beginning of Gilds Merchant.
- 1095. First Crusade.
- 1100. Accession of Henry I., who grants a Charter of Liberties to the Church, the Barons, and the People.
- 1106. English defeat Normans at Tenchebrai.
- 1110. Establishment of Flemish weavers in Pembrokeshire.
- 1128. Cistercian monks begin to found abbeys in England.
- c. 1130. Beginning of craft gilds.
- 1139-1153. Anarchy of Stephen's reign.
- 1154. Last entry in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*.
- 1159. Institution of Scutage.
- 1162. Becket made Archbishop of Canterbury.
- 1164. Constitutions of Clarendon—to settle the relation of the Church to the State.
- 1166. Assize of Clarendon. Beginning of Grand Jury system.
- c. 1167. Foundation of University of Oxford.
- 1170. Inquest of Sheriffs—many sheriffs deposed.
- Murder of Becket.
- 1169-1171. First conquest of Ireland.
- 1176. Assize of Northampton. Appointment of itinerary judges.
- 1181. Assize of Arms. Reorganisation of national fyrd or militia.
- 1188. Saladin Tithe—the first tax on personal property.
- 1190-1192. Richard Cœur-de-Lion at the Third Crusade.
- 1202. First Assize of Bread.
- 1204. Loss of Normandy.
- c. 1205. Layamon writes the *Brut*.
- c. 1208. Foundation of University of Cambridge.
- 1215. Magna Carta.
- 1216. Reissue of Magna Carta on accession of Henry III.
- 1220. The Friars come to England.
- 1235. Statute of Merton—Lords of Manors permitted to make their profit of waste lands, so long as tenants had sufficient for their use.
- 1254. Two knights from each shire summoned to attend Parliament.
- 1263-1265. The Barons' War. Simon de Montfort- leader of opposition to the King.

# CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF EVENTS 687

A.D.

- 1265. A parliament, summoned by de Montfort, includes two knights from each shire and two burgesses from each of certain towns.
- 1266. Assize of Bread and Ale.
- 1272. Accession of Edward I., the English Justinian.
- 1279. Statute of Mortmain—to prevent grants of land to corporations such as the Church, in order to escape feudal obligations.
- 1283. Statute of Acton Burnell—to facilitate recovery of commercial debts.
- 1284. Completion of conquest of Wales.
- 1285. Statute De Donis, or Second Statute of Westminster. Establishment of the system of entails.  
Statute of Winchester. Towns to be policed and defended by the burgesses; highways to be cleared for two hundred feet on either side of the road to give security to travellers.
- 1290. Statute Quia Emptores. Modified conditions of feudal tenure to increase the number of tenants holding land directly from the King. Increase in number of free tenants and smaller landholders.  
Banishment of the Jews from England.
- 1295. The Model Parliament. The first complete Parliament. "That which concerns all should be approved by all."
- 1297. Confirmation of the Charters by Edward I.
- 1303. Carta Mercatoria, granting freedom of trade and safe conduct to continental merchants.
- 1313. Incorporation of the Merchants of the Staple.
- 1314. Battle of Bannockburn.
- 1327. Parliament deposes Edward II.
- 1331. Settlements of Flemish weavers in England by Edward III.
- 1333. Knights of the shire and burgesses deliberate together apart from the Barons in Parliament.
- 1337. Commencement of the Hundred Years' War with France.
- 1340. King surrenders all right of direct taxation without the consent of Parliament.
- 1345. Foundation of Grocers' Company.
- 1346. Battle of Crécy.
- c. 1347. Formation of Mercers' Company.
- 1348-1349. The Black Death.
- 1351. First Statute of Labourers.  
First Statute of Provisors—to protect holders of Church patronage from papal interference.
- 1352. First Statute of Præmunire—to prevent the prosecution of suits in foreign (*e.g.* the papal) courts.

## 688 CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF EVENTS

A.D.

- 1356. Battle of Poitiers.
- 1362. Act of Parliament forbids the placing of any subsidy or charge upon wool without the consent of Parliament.  
English to be used in the Courts of Law.
- 1364. Foundation of Vintners' Company.
- 1365. Foundation of Drapers' Company.
- c. 1365. Langland engaged in writing his *Vision concerning Piers Plowman*.
- 1376. The Good Parliament. Introduction of the system of impeachment of Ministers of the Crown.
- 1381. The Peasants' Revolt.  
Navigation Act—to encourage English shipbuilding.
- 1382. Translation of the Bible by Wyclif and his friends.
- 1384. Death of Wyclif.
- 1385. English replaces Norman-French in the schools.
- c. 1385. Chaucer writes his *Canterbury Tales*.
- 1394. Permission granted to export corn.
- 1399. Abdication of Richard II.; Parliament elects Henry IV. King of England.
- 1400. Death of Chaucer.
- 1406. King grants to Parliament the right of proper audit of accounts.
- 1407. Commons obtain right of originating money bills.  
Formation of the company of Merchant Adventurers.
- 1414. Commons obtain from King promise that all statutes should be made without altering the wording of the petitions on which they were based.
- 1415. Battle of Agincourt.
- 1429-1435. Joan of Arc restores the power of France.
- 1430. Act confining county franchise to persons holding a freehold of at least forty shillings a year.
- 1450. All Normandy lost except Calais.  
Impeachment and death of Suffolk.  
Jack Cade's rebellion.
- 1455. Commencement of the Thirty Years' War of the Roses.
- 1461. Accession of Edward IV., the first absolute King of England.
- 1463. Corn not to be imported when the English price was less than 6s. 8d. per quarter.
- 1476. Caxton sets up his printing-press at Westminster.
- 1485. Battle of Bosworth. Accession of Henry VII.  
Appointment of a Consul at Pisa: the first English Consul.
- 1486. Bartholomew Diaz rounds the Cape of Good Hope.

# CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF EVENTS 689

A D.

- 1492. Columbus discovers the New World.
- 1494. John Cabot reaches mainland of America at Labrador.
- 1496. Magnus Intercursus: a commercial treaty between England and Burgundy.
- 1498. Sebastian Cabot in Newfoundland.  
Vasco da Gama lands at Calicut.
- 1500. Cabral discovers Brazil.
- 1470-1530. Much enclosure of land for sheep-farming.
- 1500. Brazil discovered by the Portuguese.
- 1505. The Merchant Adventurers are granted a charter.
- 1510. Refounding of St. Paul's School by Dean Colet.
- 1513. Incorporation of the Brethren of Trinity House as an association for licensing pilots, providing beacons and lighthouses, etc.  
Arsenal founded at Deptford.  
Defeat of Scots at Flodden Field.
- 1515. Wolsey, Cardinal and Chancellor.
- 1516. Erasmus publishes an Edition of the New Testament in Greek.  
Publication of More's *Utopia*.
- 1517. Sebastian Cabot attempts the North-West Passage.  
Evil May-Day. Riots in London against foreigners.
- 1519-1521. Conquest of Mexico by Cortes.
- 1520. Field of Cloth of Gold.  
Magellan enters the Pacific.
- 1521. Henry VIII. receives from the Pope the title of Defender of the Faith.
- 1525. Tyndale's translation of the New Testament.
- 1529-1536. Meetings of the Reformation parliament.
- 1530. Expedition of William Hawkins to Brazil.  
Fall of Wolsey.
- 1530-1540. Administration of Thomas Cromwell.
- 1531. King acknowledged to be Supreme Head of the Church in England.
- 1533. Appeals to Rome forbidden.
- 1534. Payments of first-fruits to Rome forbidden.
- 1535. Act of Supremacy declaring Henry to be Head of the Church.  
Sir Thomas More and Bishop Fisher executed for denying his supremacy.
- 1536. Dissolution of the smaller monasteries.
- 1537. Pilgrimage of Grace, a rebellion in the North of England.  
Council of the North established for the better government of that part of the country.  
Copy of the Bible in English to be placed in every Church.

## 690 CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF EVENTS

- A.D.
1539. Suppression of the larger monasteries. Much of their property passed to the King. Six new bishoprics founded.  
Parliament declares that the King's Proclamations are as valid as its own Acts.
1540. Execution of Thomas Cromwell.
1542. Henry VIII. made King of Ireland.
1545. Lending money at interest legalised.
- 1547-1549. Protectorship of Hertford who is made Duke of Somerset.
1547. Act transferring the possessions of chantries and religious guilds to the Crown.  
Severe law passed against vagrancy.
1548. Combination Act passed.
1549. First Prayer Book of Edward VI.  
Ket's rebellion in Norfolk.  
Fall of Somerset.
1551. Coinage debased.
1552. Second Prayer Book of Edward VI.  
Opening of Christ's Hospital, an orphanage for the children of London citizens.
1553. Sir Hugh Willoughby's expedition to discover a North-East Passage. Chancellor reaches Archangel.  
Restoration of the Catholic religion with the accession of Mary.
1554. Marriage of Mary to Philip II. of Spain.
1555. The Marian persecution.
1558. Attempts made by the Government to check the migration of citizens from the corporate towns.  
Jenkinson journeys overland from Moscow to Bokhara.  
Loss of Calais.  
Accession of Elizabeth.
- 1559-1563. Third and final Reformation settlement in England.
1561. Mary of Scots returns to Scotland from France.
1562. First slave trade voyage of John Hawkins.  
Restoration of the debased coinage to its proper value.
1563. Statute of Artificers. Restoration of the system of seven years' apprenticeship. Wages to be fixed by justices of the peace, according to the necessities of the various localities.
1564. Company of Merchant Adventurers now incorporated.
- 1564-1600. Immigration of Dutch, Flemish, and French artisans.
1565. Drake's first voyage to the West Indies.  
Tobacco introduced by Hawkins.
- 1565-1567. Drake and Hawkins in the West Indies for trading purposes.

# CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF EVENTS 691

- A. D.
- 1568. Mary of Scots flees from Scotland into England.
  - 1569. Stocking frame invented.  
Introduction of lotteries.
  - 1570. Drake makes an expedition to Spanish America for plunder.
  - 1571. Royal Exchange opened by Elizabeth.
  - 1572. Massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day.
  - 1576. First public theatre built in Blackfriars.  
Frobisher attempts the North-West Passage.
  - 1577-1580. Drake's voyage round the world.
  - 1579. Spenser's *Shepherd's Calendar*.  
Eastland Company incorporated.
  - 1581. Levant or Turkey Company incorporated.
  - 1583. Gilbert takes possession of Newfoundland for England.
  - 1584. Raleigh attempts the colonisation of Virginia.
  - 1585. Davis attempts the North-West Passage.
  - 1586. Battle of Zutphen, and death of Sir Philip Sidney.  
Drake on the Spanish Main.
  - 1586-1588. Cavendish circumnavigates the globe.
  - 1587. Execution of Mary of Scots.
  - 1588. Defeat of the *Armada*.
  - 1590. First books of the *Faery Queene* published.
  - 1591. Raymond and Lancaster make the first English voyage to the East Indies.  
Last fight of the *Revenge*, and death of Grenville.
  - 1593. Act of Parliament forbidding the erection of any new houses within three miles of London city wall.
  - 1596. Jonson's *Every Man in his Humour*.
  - 1597. The first edition of Bacon's *Essays* published.
  - 1600. First charter to the East India Company.
  - 1601. Poor Law Act.
  - 1603. Union of Crowns of England and Scotland.
  - 1604. The first parliament of James I. asserts and vindicates its privileges.
  - 1605. Occupation of Barbadoes.
  - 1606. Second colonisation of Virginia. Jamestown founded, 1607.
  - 1609. Hudson attempts the North-West Passage.  
Bermudas occupied.
  - 1611. Plantation of Ulster.  
*Authorised Version of the Bible* published.
  - 1614-1621. James I. rules without a Parliament.
  - 1615. Baffin attempts the North-West Passage.
  - 1616. Death of Shakespeare.
  - 1628. Execution of Raleigh.
  - 1620. Sailing of the Pilgrim Fathers.

## 692 CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF EVENTS

- 1621. James's third parliament impeaches Bacon, the Lord Chancellor, and asserts its right to discuss all matters of State.
- 1623. Repeal of the laws favouring the corporate towns.
- 1624. Parliament declares monopolies illegal.
- 1625. Occupation of St. Kitts.
- 1628. Petition of Right.
- 1629. Charter granted to Massachusetts.
- 1629-1640. Charles I. rules without a parliament.
- 1631. Book of Orders to ensure good administration of poor laws.
- 1632. Grant of Maryland to Lord Baltimore.
- 1633. Strafford, Earl of Wentworth, in Ireland.
- 1634. Ship-money levied on the coast counties and towns.  
Next year the levy was extended to the inland counties and towns.
- 1636. Establishment of the Settlement of Rhode Island.
- 1637. Hampden refuses to pay ship-money; the judges decide against him.
- 1639. Settlement formed at Madras.
- 1639-1649. Drainage of the Fens.
- 1640. Meeting of the Long Parliament. Impeachment of Strafford and Laud.
- 1641. Abolition of Star Chamber Court, High Commission Court, and Council of the North.  
Ship-money declared illegal.  
Issue of the Grand Remonstrance.
- 1642. Attempted arrest of five members of the Commons by Charles.  
Beginning of Civil War.  
Closing of the theatres by the Puritan party.
- 1643. Union of the New England colonies.
- 1644. Battle of Marston Moor.  
Milton's *Areopagitica*.
- 1645. Parliamentary army remodelled; the first English standing army.  
Battle of Naseby.
- 1648. Beginnings of the Royal Society.
- 1649. Execution of Charles I.
- 1649-1651. Cromwell in Ireland and Scotland.  
Navigation Act, aimed at the Dutch carrying trade.
- 1653. Cromwell made Lord Protector.
- 1655. Capture of Jamaica.  
Blake in the Mediterranean.
- 1658. Battle of the Dunes.  
Davenant's opera, *The Siege of Rhodes*, produced.
- 1660. Restoration of the Stuarts.

## CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF EVENTS 693

A.D.

- 1662. Act of Settlement.  
Grant of charter permitting the slave trade to the  
Royal African Company.
- 1663. Carolina granted to Lords Albemarle, Clarendon, and  
others.
- 1665. Great Plague of London.
- 1666. Great Fire of London.
- 1667. The Dutch fleet in the Medway.  
Publication of Milton's *Paradise Lost*.
- 1668. Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle.
- 1670. Bunyan writes his *Pilgrim's Progress*; published 1678.  
Milton publishes *Paradise Regained*.  
Hudson Bay Company formed.
- 1672. Charles refuses to repay the loans he has borrowed;  
the so-called Stop of the Exchequer.
- 1673. Test Act passed.
- 1678. Titus Oates Plot
- 1679. Habeas Corpus Act—to prevent illegal imprisonment.
- 1681. London and many other towns lose their charters.
- 1682. Foundation of Pennsylvania.
- 1685. Revocation of the Edict of Nantes.
- 1687. Declaration of Indulgence, suspending all laws against  
Roman Catholics and Dissenters.
- 1688. Trial and acquittal of the seven Bishops.  
Flight of James II.
- 1689. Declaration of Rights.  
William III. and Mary II. accept Crown.  
Mutiny Act.
- 1690. Battle of the Boyne.
- 1694. Establishment of the Bank of England, and com-  
mencement of the National Debt.
- 1695. Permanent Board of Trade established.  
Censorship of the Press abandoned.
- 1696. Restoration of the currency.
- 1697. Treaty of Ryswick.
- 1698. First Eddystone lighthouse erected.
- 1699. Failure of the Scottish Darien scheme.
- 1700. Importation of printed calicoes forbidden.
- 1701. Act of Settlement vesting the throne in Sophia of  
Hanover and her heirs.
- 1703. Methuen commercial treaty with Portugal.
- 1704. Queen Anne's Bounty instituted.  
Battle of Blenheim.
- 1706. Battle of Ramillies.
- 1707. Death of Aurungzebe. Breakdown of the great  
Mohammedan Empire in India.  
Union of England and Scotland.



## 694 CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF EVENTS

- A.D.
- 1709. Coalbrookdale Ironworks established by Abraham Darby.
  - 1710. Impeachment of Dr. Sacheverell.
  - 1712. Stamp Act passed with object of lessening the number of political writings.  
The Mohocks in London.
  - 1713. Treaty of Utrecht.
  - 1715. Rebellion in favour of the Stuart Pretender.  
Passing of a Riot Act. Twelve or more persons assembled together to disturb the peace are guilty of felony if they do not disperse when ordered by a magistrate to do so.
  - 1716. Septennial Act passed.
  - 1719. Lombe introduced Italian methods of silk-throwing.  
Publication of *Robinson Crusoe*.
  - 1719. A Peerage Bill is proposed with object of preventing the making of additional peers, except to fill existing vacancies, but is rejected.
  - 1720. South Sea Bubble.
  - 1721-42. Walpole, Prime Minister.
  - 1723. General Workhouse Act.
  - 1730. Cotton applied to stocking-making.
  - 1731. Publication of Tull's *Horse-Hoeing Industry*.
  - 1733. Invention of the flying-shuttle by Kay.
  - 1736. Lighting Act.
  - 1739. Wesley and Whitefield commence the Methodist revival.
  - 1740-44. Anson's voyage round the world.
  - 1740. Richardson's *Pamela* published.
  - 1741. General Highway Act.
  - 1742. Resignation of Walpole.
  - 1745. Landing of the Young Pretender in Scotland.
  - 1748. Paul's wool-carding machine invented.  
Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle.
  - 1749. Publication of *Tom Jones*.
  - 1750. Huntsman perfected his new process for steel production.
  - 1753. China clay obtained from Cornwall and Devon.
  - 1755. Anthony Bacon established ironworks at Merthyr Tydvil.  
Dr. Johnson published his *Dictionary*.
  - 1756-63. Seven Years' War.
  - 1756. "Black Hole" of Calcutta.
  - 1757. Militia Act established system of universal obligatory military service.  
Battle of Plassey.
  - 1758. Framework-knitting improved by invention of a method of knitting stockings with ribs.

# CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF EVENTS 695

A.D.

1759. "The most glorious year in the annals of English history."  
Capture of Quebec by Wolfe, leading to conquest of Canada.  
Defeats of French fleet at Lagos and Quiberon Bay.  
Battle of Minden.  
Gray's *Elegy written in a Country Churchyard*.
1760. Ironworks established at Carron, near Falkirk, by Roebuck.  
Manchester and Worsley Canal projected.  
Smeaton's apparatus for establishing blast in iron-smelting.  
Flying shuttle used in cotton trade.
1763. Peace of Paris.
1765. Watt completes his invention of steam-engine.
1766. Canal from Liverpool to Manchester.  
Condemnation of general warrants by House of Commons.
1767. Hargreaves' spinning-jenny.
- 1768-71. Cook's first voyage.
1768. Arkwright's spinning-machine.
1771. Commons allows debates to be published.
- 1772-75. Cook's second voyage.
1774. First American Congress at Philadelphia issues Declaration of Independence.
- 1775-83. War of American Independence
- 1776-79. Cook's third voyage.
1776. Publication of Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*.
1777. Grand Junction Canal linked Trent and Mersey.
1779. Crompton's spinning-mule.  
First iron bridge built over the Severn at Broseley.
1780. Robert Raikes opened a Sunday School in Gloucester.  
Ireland granted free trade with Great Britain.
1782. Gilbert's Workhouse Act.
1783. Act authorising the transportation of convicts to Botany Bay.  
Public journey of criminals to Tyburn abolished.  
Peace of Versailles. Recognition of Independence of the United States of America.
1785. Steam-engines introduced into factories.  
Invention of Cartwright's power-loom.
1787. Foundation of Society for the Abolition of the Slave Trade.
1788. Impeachment of Warren Hastings.  
Foundation of New South Wales as a convict settlement.
1789. French Revolution.

## 696 CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF EVENTS

- A.D.
1793. First iron vessel launched.
- 1793-1802. Revolutionary War with France.
1793. Establishment of a Board of Agriculture.
1795. Speenhamland "Act of Parliament."
- Wesleyan Methodists established as a separate body.
- Mungo Park explores the Niger ; also in 1805.
1796. Death of Robert Burns.
1797. Suspension of cash payments by Bank of England.
- Payments were not resumed until 1819.
- Mutiny of the Fleet at the Nore.
1798. Lancaster opened his school in Southwark.
- Battle of the Nile.
- Rebellion in Ireland.
- Smithfield Club founded.
- Coleridge and Wordsworth publish their *Lyrical Ballads*.
- 1799-1800. Combination Acts.
- Act of Union between Great Britain and Ireland.
- Capture of Malta.
1802. Trevethick introduced use of high-pressure steam, making locomotives possible.
- 1803-15. Napoleonic Wars.
1805. Battle of Trafalgar.
- Battle of Austerlitz.
1807. Abolition of the Slave Trade.
1808. Enrolment of volunteers for defence of England.
- Heathcoat patented lace-making machine.
- 1811-12. Luddite Riots.
1812. Bell's *Comet*, the first successful steamboat.
1813. Blckett's *Puffing Billy*.
- Opening of general trade with India.
1814. *Times* newspaper first printed by steam power.
- Publication of Scott's *Waverley*.
- 1813-14. Repeal of Statute of Artificers, 1563.
1815. Battle of Waterloo.
- Rennie built an iron bridge over the Thames.
- Macadam's work as road improver.
- Corn Law forbade importation of corn till price was over 80s. per qr.
- Invention of the Davy Lamp.
- 1815-46. Agricultural depression.
1818. Habeas Corpus Act restored. It has never since been suspended.
1819. Factory Act.
- Peterloo Massacre.
1823. Modification of Navigation Acts.
1824. Emigration permitted.

# CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF EVENTS 697

- 1824. Repeal of the Combination Acts.  
Death of Lord Byron in Greece.
- 1825. First steamboat from America to Liverpool.  
Opening of Stockton and Darlington Railway.
- 1828. Repeal of Test and Corporation Acts.
- 1829. Catholic Emancipation Act.  
Sir Robert Peel introduced the police system.
- 1830. Opening of the Liverpool and Manchester Railway.
- 1831. Factory Act.
- 1832. Passing of the Reform Bill.
- 1833. Emancipation of Slaves.  
Factory Act.  
First grant in aid of education.
- 1834. Poor Law Amendment Act
- 1835. Municipal Reform Act.
- 1836. Stamp Duty reduced to a penny.  
Boers founded Transvaal and Orange Free States.  
University of London founded.
- 1837. Rebellion in Canada. Lord Durham's report.
- 1838. Rise of the Chartists.  
Railway from London to Birmingham.  
Formation of the Anti-Corn Law League.
- 1839. Rowland Hill's scheme for penny postage.
- 1841. Regulation of child labour in mines.  
Submarine cable introduced.
- 1842-46. Peel's financial reforms.
- 1842. First Coal Mine Act.  
Income Tax revived.
- 1844. Rochdale Co-operators commence business.  
Cheap Trams Act.  
Bank Charter Act reorganising Bank of England.  
Factory Act.
- 1846. Repeal of the Corn Laws.
- 1847. Factory Act.
- 1849. Repeal of the Navigation Acts.  
Dickens's *David Copperfield* published.
- 1850. Factory Act.  
Death of William Wordsworth.
- 1851. Great Exhibition in Hyde Park.  
Discovery of gold in Australia.  
Transportation of criminals to New South Wales abolished.
- 1852-60. Gladstone's Free Trade Budgets.
- 1854. Crimean War.
- 1857. Indian Mutiny.
- 1858. Sovereignty of India transferred to Crown.
- 1859. Volunteer movement.

## 698 CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF EVENTS

- A.D.
- 1860. Cobden's commercial treaty with France.
  - 1861. American Civil War. Great distress in Lancashire.  
Post Office Savings Banks opened.
  - 1867. Reform Act.
  - 1869. Disestablishment and disendowment of Irish Church.  
Suez Canal opened.
  - 1870. Establishment of Board Schools.
  - 1870-71. Franco-German War.
  - 1871. Act legalising Trade Unions ; further extended in 1875.  
Establishment of Local Government Board.
  - 1872. Ballot Act.
  - 1873. Supreme Court of Judicature Act.  
Purchase of shares in Suez Canal.
  - 1876. Act making education compulsory.
  - 1877. Queen Victoria proclaimed Empress of India.
  - 1884. Reform Act.
  - 1885. Death of Gordon at Khartoum.
  - 1886. Rise of the "new" trade unionism.
  - 1888. County Councils established.
  - 1889. Dockers' Strike.
  - 1891. Act giving free education.
  - 1892. Death of Lord Tennyson
  - 1894. Parish Councils established.  
Harcourt's "Death duties" Budget.
  - 1896. Workmen's Compensation Act.
  - 1898. Imperial Penny Postage.
  - 1899. London divided into boroughs for purposes of local  
government.
  - 1899-1902. South African War.
  - 1902. Education Act abolishing School Boards and giving  
aid from rates to Voluntary Schools.
  - 1906. Responsible government granted to South African  
Commonwealth.
  - 1908. Eight hours' day for miners.
  - 1909. Report of Commission on Poor Laws.  
Opening of Labour Exchanges.
  - 1911. National Insurance Act.
  - 1912. Captain Scott reached the South Pole.
  - 1914. Commencement of great European War.

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